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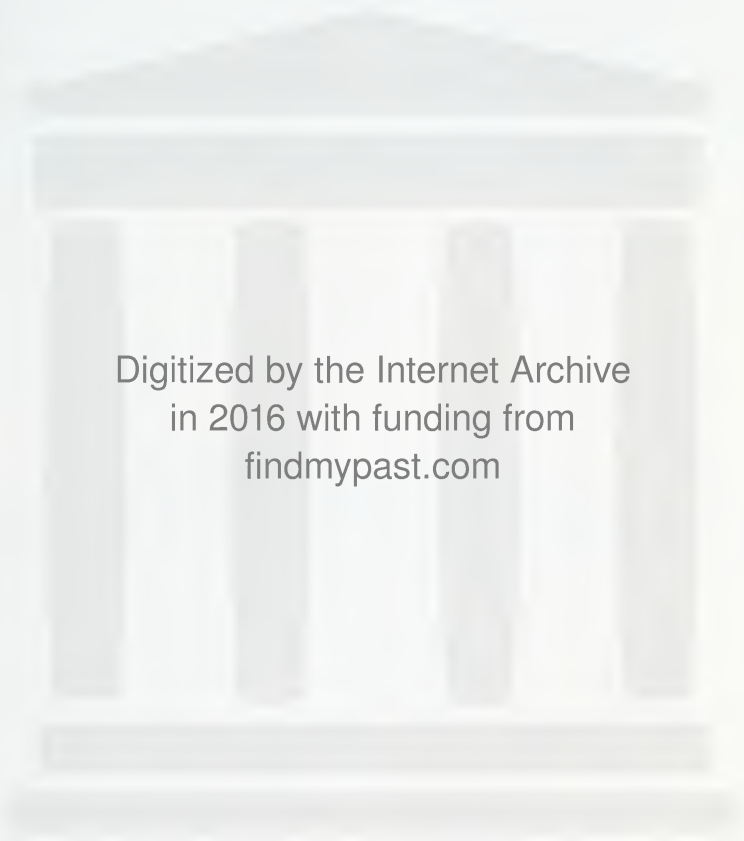
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Editor

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COVER

The State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building — On the Eve of Its Dedication.

DEDICATION OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA CENTENNIAL BUILDING

By *William J. Petersen**

This issue of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY contains the speeches and papers read at the dedication of the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building on August 31, 1960. In addition, there are included some of the papers read at the 20th Annual Meeting of the American Association for State and Local History held jointly with the State Historical Society of Iowa on the occasion of the dedication of the Centennial Building and continuing through September 3. It is unfortunate that the Association does not prepare abstracts of all the papers and discussions read during the course of the convention as several good ones might have been summarized herein. Happily, enough were made available so a fairly well-rounded picture can be given of the program.

Dedication of the Centennial Building

The dedication of the first home of the State Historical Society of Iowa after 103 years of service to the State of Iowa took place at eleven a.m. on August 31, 1960. It was truly an historic event for the Society and several hundred were on hand to brave the sweltering heat of an unusually warm August day. A brief summary of the steps leading up to this event are well worth recording.

The governing body of the State Historical Society, which is made up of a Board of Curators, had been confronted with the problem of finding a permanent home on a half dozen occasions since the Society was founded in 1857. It was not until 1954, however, that the first real effort was made to interest both the General Assembly and the people of Iowa in such a dream.

In June of 1954, officials of the State University of Iowa, finding themselves badly cramped for space, suggested that the State Historical Society of Iowa might like to move its offices into the Peter A. Dey home on North Clinton for administrative purposes in exchange for the rooms it occupied in Schaeffer Hall. If the idea met with favor on the part of the Board of Curators, the University officials declared they would endeavor to secure

*William J. Petersen is Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

\$200,000 from the General Assembly to build a storage place behind the Dey property to house the books, newspapers, manuscripts, and other valuable holdings of the Society which had been accumulated over a century of time.

Investigation disclosed that the Dey home was structurally unsuitable for the Society's business offices. Furthermore, it was felt the library would be less accessible for historical research on the part of graduate students and visiting scholars, and thus would prevent the Society from performing its prescribed services to the people of Iowa. Since the Society was already hampered in the collection of material because of lack of space, the Board of Curators accepted the suggestion of the Superintendent and proposed to the University officials that the Historical Society would undertake to raise \$100,000 on its own and ask the General Assembly to match this sum with \$200,000 for a completely new home. Although the very idea seemed fantastic to some and virtually unattainable to most, the action seemed reasonably appropriate in 1954 because of the approaching centennial of the Society. The new home, by unanimous agreement, would be called the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building.

Professional solicitors, it was found upon inquiry, were unwilling to solicit funds for such a project, even at three or four times the amount usually charged for hospital, Y.M.C.A., or church fund-raising campaigns. The Board of Curators, therefore, hit upon a happy idea. They appointed William J. Petersen, the superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, to secure the \$100,000.

Strong Legislative Support

Fortunately for the Society this seemingly wild dream met a warm response from press and radio, from citizens representing every walk of life, and from the General Assembly itself. Using his *News for Members* as a vehicle for publicity, and by personally contacting key citizens, the superintendent had already collected almost \$25,000 before the 56th General Assembly convened in Des Moines in January, 1955. An important role in making this dream become a reality was played by Iowa newspaper editors. Their whole-hearted support played an important part in influencing both citizens and legislators.

Fortunately for the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building there had been a steadily increasing interest in the Society among the legis-

lators, resulting in a phenomenal increase in membership within the group since 1947. Such men as Fred Schwengel, Clark McNeal, Bill Tate, Bill Lynes, Wendell Pendleton, Jack Schroeder, and De Vere Watson, had been especially active in promoting this phenomenal membership growth. Since he had increased General Asembly membership in the Society from less than ten per cent to almost ninety per cent in the previous eight years, the superintendent found sympathetic ears and a heart-warming understanding among these men. In a hundred years of legislative history the General Assembly had not encountered a single state employee who was willing in his spare time to solicit one-third the cost of a building for his own department.

Those were anxious days for the Superintendent as he solicited legislative support in Des Moines. In the closing days of the session the 56th General Assembly passed its Appropriation Bill which included acceptance of the offer to match the \$100,000 raised by the Society with a \$200,000 legislative appropriation for a new Centennial Building. Senator D. C. Nolan and Representative Scott Swisher of Johnson County played leading roles in securing the appropriation.

Seventeen Senators had placed their names on Senate File 191 and twenty-six House members had signed their names to House File 248, the original bills asking for the \$200,000 appropriation. The names of these men deserve to be recorded in the history of the Society.

Senate File 191

Anderson Molison
Boothby Nolan
Dewel O'Malley
Elijah Schroeder
Grimstead Van Eaton
Lucas Walker
McFarlane D. Watson
McManus H. Watson
Weiss Hultman

House File 248

Buck Kosek Sar
Burtch Loss Smith
Colburn McNeal Swisher
Darrington Mensing Tate
Falvey E. A. Miller Vermeer
Frommelt Mooty J. F. Walter
Hendrix Novak P. M. Walter
Hoth Peterson Voigtmann
Pim

Few legislatures had been faced with more difficult problems than the 56th General Assembly. On the one hand, the members were confronted with a large section of their constituents who favored "holding the line" and opposed raising taxes in any form. On the other hand, an equally vocal number of their constituents cried out for better roads, greater aid to schools, and more support for institutions under the Board of Education and the Board of Control. With such giant appropriations to be determined it

took wisdom, courage, and leadership to see that the modest request of the Society was not shunted aside. Happily, the 56th General Assembly was well represented with men possessing these qualities. It accordingly met the challenge to the delight of 5,000 members of the State Historical Society.

On December 8, 1955, the Board of Regents transferred to the State Historical Society of Iowa the 80 x 150-foot lot at the corner of Iowa Avenue and Gilbert Street on which were three University buildings. Two large frame houses used by University music students stood on the front of this lot facing Iowa Avenue. The University laundry was located on the rear of the lot facing Gilbert Street.

It should be pointed out that succeeding legislatures, impressed by the hearty support rendered the Society by citizens, by press and radio, and by clubs and patriotic organizations, followed the original appropriation of \$200,000 with two additional appropriations to the Society, swelling the total contributed by the State to \$304,178. The two sums added to the original appropriation were \$85,000 for furnishings and equipment by the 58th General Assembly, and \$19,178 needed to complete payments due on the Centennial Building, and which was voted by the Budget and Financial Control Committee of the 58th General Assembly.

Raising Funds Through Private Contributions

Several large and especially heartening gifts got the fund-raising campaign off to a good start. The first such contribution resulted from a conference with Craig Sheaffer, himself a Life Member of the Society. It came in the form of a check for \$5,000 from the Sheaffer Memorial Foundation. Close on the heels of this gift came another \$5,000 from Robert E. Vance, President of the Maytag Company Foundation. Governor William S. Beardsley pledged \$500 to this "meretorious program" affording the Society the "safest and finest facilities."

The year 1955 had been a highly productive one for the State Historical Society. The General Assembly had voted \$200,000 for a Centennial Building in May and the Board of Regents had transferred an 80 x 150-foot lot to the Society in December. It only remained for the Society to raise its \$100,000. Throughout 1956 interest in the Society mounted on an ever-increasing crescendo. Steamboat trips on both the Mississippi and Missouri rivers helped focus attention on the Society's varied activities. Publications (including the William Boyd Allison book) became increasingly popular.

Membership continued to grow at an amazing rate. All these forces combined to stimulate interest in the proposed Centennial Building. Before the year 1956 had come to an end the building fund had reached the \$100,000 cash available and entitled the Society to the \$200,000 appropriated by the General Assembly. Among the first and largest contributors were the following:

Frank C. Allen	\$ 9,500	\$500
Sheaffer Pen Co.	5,000	Des Moines
Maytag Company	5,000	Younker Bros., Inc.
Lee Papers & Families	5,250	Meredith Foundation
Hanford MacNider	5,000	Pioneer Hi-Bred Corn Co.
Dorothy Musser	5,000	James M. Pierce Corporation
Arthur Cox Family	2,250	Iowa City
	<hr/>	James E. Stronks
	\$37,000	Sam T. Morrison
		Plumbers Supply
Carl Weeks	\$ 1,000	Iowa City Press-Citizen
Mrs. Mina J. Way	1,000	Frank J. Zeithamel
Cedar Rapids Gazette	1,000	Iowa State Bank & Trust
Waterloo Courier	1,000	Frank L. Thompson
Dubuque		L. C. W. Clearman
Carr, Adams & Collier	\$ 1,000	Richard K. Adams
Wahlert Foundation	1,000	First National Bank
Keokuk		<hr/>
Hubinger Foundation	1,000	F. O. Block, Bettendorf
Keokuk Electro-Metals	1,000	O. D. Collis, Clinton
Hoerner Foundation	1,000	Taft Unitarian Foundation
	<hr/>	Charles Gilchrist, Davenport
	\$ 9,000	W. A. Logan, Keokuk
22 \$500 contributions	11,000	Kent-Stein Foundation,
	<hr/>	Muscatine
Total large contributions		Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette
in 1956	\$57,000	Ralph C. McCague,
		Marshalltown

Thousands of other contributions, ranging from one dollar to \$300, helped swell the total to the \$100,000 mark by the time the 57th General Assembly convened in Des Moines in 1957.

1957

On April 9, 1957, bids were opened for the removal of the two frame houses but the laundry was still in use pending the completion of its new

building. Meanwhile, the centennial of the State Historical Society of Iowa had been observed at a commemorative dinner in the Iowa Memorial Union at Iowa City on February 7, 1957. It was attended by more than 120 members and guests, including eighteen Curators, thirteen of whom were serving on the Board at the time. Congratulations poured in from heads of sister institutions all over the United States. Curator William R. Hart served as Master of Ceremonies and Superintendent William J. Petersen gave the address of the evening.

Dean Allin W. Dakin brought greetings from President Virgil M. Hancher on the occasion of the centennial and felicitously extended his own personal good wishes. Curator W. Howard Smith introduced the nine elected Curators, present and past, many of whom had traveled long distances to be present for the historic occasion. The lighting of the huge Birthday Cake was a happy feature of the dinner. Dr. J. A. Swisher, former Research Associate of the Society, read some original poems. The Superintendent presented an *Award of Merit* from the American Association for State and Local History to Philip Adler of Davenport in recognition of the outstanding service of the Lee Papers in promoting state and local history over the years, and in substantially supporting the Microfilm Room of the Centennial Building. An *Award of Merit* was also given the State Historical Society of Iowa for publishing the William Boyd Allison biography.

Perhaps the most fortuitous tribute came from Dr. Paul M. Angle, Director of the Chicago Historical Society, who in a series of one-page essays that had appeared in *Publishers' Weekly* over a period of several years, had paid special tribute to the State Historical Society of Iowa on February 4, 1957, by including the Society with twenty-three great institutions forming "Doorways to American Culture." Seven of these twenty-three institutions were state historical societies, who "through their publications, have made available a vast resource of national intellectual wealth." In his tribute to the Society Dr. Angle concluded:

States older than Iowa may have larger historical literatures, but no state has had its past so thoroughly explored and so widely disseminated by its own historical society.

It was announced at the Centennial Dinner that the Society had \$105,000 in cash on hand, not counting pledges. Rising building costs were a matter of genuine concern, however, and the superintendent pointed out that once the building was completed additional funds would be needed for furnish-

ings and equipment. He noted six gifts alone totaled \$31,250 and urged broader participation in the venture, particularly among the 700 Life Members.

On June 24, 1957, the Society held its Biennial meeting on the grounds of the Lucas Home in Iowa City. On this historic spot those attending looked back over the period of a century and noted the tremendous strides that had been taken. The membership stood at 5,250, publications were being issued regularly, the steamboat trips remained as popular as ever, and the Society had just conducted a record-breaking tour of the Amana Colonies for the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs. This group of women, with its membership of almost 35,000, was destined to contribute a total of over \$8,000 to the Centennial Building for an Iowa Women's Heritage Room. This proved to be the second largest cash contribution made to the Centennial Building.

1958

By January, 1958, the University laundry was transferred to its new building. On March 20 bids were opened for the demolition and removal of the old laundry within thirty days. One month later, on April 17, bids were opened for the construction of the Centennial Building. Over fifty bidders were present to listen to the figures quoted by nine bidders for the General Contract, four bidders for the Mechanical Contract, four bidders for the Electrical Wiring Contract, and six who sought the Service Elevator Contract. Architect Burdette Higgins, of the firm of Tinsley, Higgins, Lighter & Lyon of Des Moines, read the bids in the presence of the Superintendent and five Curators — William R. Hart, James Nesmith, and James E. Stronks of Iowa City, John Mohl of Davenport, and Ransom McKee of Muscatine. The successful bidders were:

<i>Contract</i>	<i>Successful Bidder</i>	<i>Home Address</i>	<i>Amt. Bid</i>
General	Frantz Construction Co.	Iowa City	\$215,400
Mechanical	Darragh & Associates, Inc.	Cedar Rapids	98,850
Electric	The Home Appliances, Inc.	Iowa City	22,217
Elevator	R & O Elevator	Minneapolis	16,929

Once the contracts were let, work began in earnest. On June 7, 1958, ground was broken by President Sam T. Morrison and a small group of Curators and friends, including Provost Harvey H. Davis of the University;

Will J. Hayek, Treasurer of the Society; Mrs. Arthur J. Cox, Representative Scott Swisher, and former Senator LeRoy Mercer.

Once started, General Contractor Frantz fairly kept things humming. By October 16 the second floor and half the roof had been poured and bricklayers were busily engaged with their trowels. It was a bitter cold day on November 26 when a score of hardy souls gathered to lay the cornerstone of the Centennial Building.

Fortunately the General Contractor, Mr. Frantz, had installed salamanders to take some of the chill off the interior of the building. The entire concrete superstructure had been in for some weeks and bricks were laid to the second floor. President Virgil M. Hancher, President Morrison, members of the Building Committee, and Curators William R. Hart, W. Howard Smith, James E. Stronks, Ransom McKee, and William Houlette were present at the laying of the cornerstone together with Representative Scott Swisher, LeRoy Mercer, Bruce E. Mahan, J. A. Swisher, and Frank Zeithamel.

The contents of the copper box inserted in the cornerstone included the following:

- A. Miscellaneous Records, Reports, and Data Published by the Society.
 - 1. Constitution and By-Laws of the State Historical Society.
 - 2. *Some Information* (January, 1942) — List of members, etc.
 - 3. *Some Information* (January, 1951) — Historical publications.
 - 4. Membership List by Counties and States (October, 1948).
 - 5. Membership List by Counties and States (January, 1952).
 - 6. Program for Centennial Birthday Dinner (February 7, 1957).
 - 7. Society Steamboat Excursion (1951) — Menu of the *Rob Roy III*.
 - 8. *Looking Backward on Hawkeyeland*, by William J. Petersen.
 - 9. Biennial Reports of the State Historical Society of Iowa for the following: 1947-1949; 1951-1953; 1953-1955; 1955-1957.
- B. Representative Publications of the Society.
 - 1. *News for Members* — October, 1954, through October, 1958.
 - 2. *The Palimpsest* — June, 1955; August, 1955; May, 1956; March, 1957; June, 1957.
 - 3. *Iowa Journal of History* — April, 1957.
 - 4. Books.
 - a. *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*, by J. B. Newhall (SHSI reprint).

- b. *Iowa History Reference Guide* (1952), by Wm. J. Petersen.
- c. *The Constitutions of Iowa* (1934), by Benj. F. Shambaugh.
- C. *Contemporary Iowa Newspapers: Iowa City Press-Citizen, Cedar Rapids Gazette, Des Moines Register, Davenport Times, Waterloo Courier.*

1959

As the Centennial Building neared completion excitement mounted among the Curators and friends of the Society. By mid-February the building was substantially finished on the outside, the rooms inside had been roughed in, a good deal of the electrical and plumbing equipment installed, the elevator ready to operate, and the plasterers awaiting warmer weather.

Meanwhile, the 58th General Assembly was rolling along under a full head of steam. Members of that august body were mindful of the Society's needs, for in February, 1959, both houses of the legislature approved a bill appropriating \$85,000 to furnish and equip the Centennial Building. It was truly a grand vote of confidence, a confidence resting on the fact that the Society had met its own challenge by raising substantially more than the \$100,000 promised in order to be eligible for the \$200,000 appropriated by the General Assembly in 1955. Legislators, many of whom were members of the Society, had read regular reports of the progress on the Centennial Building. By March, 1959, they could see the completed structure with bricks being washed down on the outside; by April 15 the sod had been laid around the building and all construction equipment hauled away; by May 16 it was estimated that the inside work was approximately 90% complete.

Biennial Meeting

On June 29, 1959, the 51st Biennial Meeting of the Society met in the Unitarian church across the street from the Centennial Building. After a brief business meeting and the election of Curators, those present crossed Iowa Avenue to inspect the progress of work in the interior of the Centennial Building.

Meanwhile, during the summer of 1959 steel shelving was being installed in the sub-basement to store the almost 4,000 cartons of the Society's publications dating back to 1863. The gigantic task of moving these cartons, weighing an average of sixty pounds each, began on September 11. Iowa Citizens, University faculty and students, and members of the Society

watched for months what the Iowa City *Press-Citizen* described as the "biggest moving job to be undertaken in Iowa City this year — and one of the largest ever." It is estimated that the back publications moved into the Centennial Building weighed approximately 120 tons.

By October, 1959, the inside was fast nearing completion: the tile floors were laid, plumbing and electricity installed, and painting and air conditioning completed. The installation of steel book stacks and other equipment was under way and probably one-third of the move into the new quarters consummated. By October, too, it became apparent that, because of the rising costs, the Society would need an additional \$19,178 to pay for the Centennial Building when completed.

A historic step was taken when the Board of Curators met in the Centennial Building for its regular monthly meeting on November 24, 1959. The members present were Hart, Mohl, Nesmith, Smith, Stronks, and Swisher. Although the bookstacks had not been erected and moving of back publications was still going on into the basement, everyone expressed much pleasure with their new quarters.

The question before the Board was — where can it raise \$19,178? Fortunately, a way appeared when Superintendent Petersen had an opportunity to discuss the problem briefly with members of the Budget & Financial Control Committee during a historical tour. A week later a formal request for the amount needed to complete the building was made in the Old Stone Capitol by President Hart and Superintendent Petersen. The request was granted without a dissenting vote.

On December 16, 1959, the Board of Curators was informed that University officials had been notified that the entire basement in Schaeffer Hall had been cleared of newspapers and back publications. This would allow the University to begin converting the area into classrooms and offices for use in the fall of 1960.

1960

The most painstaking part of the move into the Centennial Building was completed during the first four months of 1960 when 80,000 books, 30,000 pamphlets, and a vast amount of manuscripts, pictures, maps, and miscellaneous material was moved from Schaeffer Hall under adverse weather conditions. It took two weeks and seven truck-loads, averaging approximately 2,000 books to the truck-load, to transport 14,000 volumes out of Room

305 in Schaeffer Hall. During the early stages the books were carried in heavy crates (called coffins) down the eighty-six steps. Later a hoist and pulley was used to let the crates down the first two flights of stairs. Finally, the University set up an elevator outside the building which greatly facilitated moving, although, because of the very nature of the material transported, it still was slow work. By mid-April the move from the third floor of Schaeffer Hall was finally completed.

Meanwhile, the Superintendent had moved his office into the Centennial Building in mid-January of 1960. The Business Office followed over in mid-February and the Associate Editor and Library Associate in April. By May a number of outstanding historians and researchers were working in the Centennial Building including such men as William Mokray, vice president of the Boston Celtics, who was writing a history of basketball in the United States; Dr. James I. Robertson, editor of *Civil War History*, and Pulitzer Prize winner MacKinlay Kantor, deeply immersed in his forthcoming historical novel on *Spirit Lake*, centering on the bloody Spirit Lake Massacre. Dick Lamb was also delving into the rich records of the Society that were destined to place Gordon Locke in the Football Hall of Fame. J. C. "Buck" Turnbull was making frequent visits on his *Iowa Conference Story*.

Once in their new quarters both the Curators and Superintendent began to think in terms of appropriate dedication services for their new Centennial Building. Fortunately, similar historical societies around the country had been watching with ever-increasing interest the effort of the Iowa society to gain a home of its own. While attending the 18th Annual Meeting of the American Association for State and Local History in Salt Lake City in 1958, the Superintendent of the State Historical Society, sensing this growing interest, invited the American Association to hold its 20th Annual Meeting in Iowa City at the time of the dedication. This invitation was formally accepted when the American Association for State and Local History held its 19th Annual Meeting in Philadelphia in 1959. It was agreed that August 31, 1960, would be Dedication Day for the Centennial Building and that the American Association would open up its four-day session in Iowa City at the same time in order that all might participate in the historic event.

Once agreed upon, every effort was made to have the building in readiness. Members of the Society, as well as officers of county historical soci-

eties, were alerted to the fact that they would meet and hear directors of national, state, local, and private historical agencies from all over the country. In this race against time it may be worth recording that the air conditioning was made available one week before the Centennial Building was dedicated and the last drapes hung twenty-four hours before the big event.

Dedication Day

Dedication day — Wednesday, August 31, 1960 — arrived, hot and sticky. Members of the American Association for State and Local History had been arriving throughout the previous day in order not to miss the two programs that had been set up for 9:30 a.m., an hour and a half before the dedication of the Centennial Building. The programs arranged were most appropriate — “New Directions and Traditional Functions in Our Local Historical Societies” was held in Conference Room No. 2 and “The Historical Society Magazine — Does It Have a Future?” was the stimulating program assigned to Conference Room No. 1. Those who arrived early were delighted to find the Centennial Building completely air-conditioned — one of the few places in Iowa City that afforded them comfort from the blistering heat outside.

The dedication of the Centennial Building took place at 11 a.m. An unfortunate conflict — State Day at the State Fair in Des Moines — prevented Governor Herschel Loveless and scores of legislators from attending the dedication services. Fully three hundred were present, however, being almost equally divided between members and friends of the Society in Iowa and visiting dignitaries from over half the states in the Union and two Canadian provinces. Governor Loveless sent the following message to the Superintendent:

Since I can't be present personally, I do want to send my warm regards to those in attendance and to add my congratulations to our own State Historical Society on the happy occasion of your moving into the Centennial Building.

For the benefit of the visitors, I might say that we citizens of Iowa are deeply proud of our State Historical Society, which is one hundred three years old, this year. We are proud of our Society's outstanding publication and research program, and proud of its front rank among states in the presentation of Iowa's history.

We have long looked forward to the day when the State Historical Society's collection of Iowana — the largest in the country — could be housed in one appropriate building. That day has now

Dedication Program

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Centennial Building

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1960, 11 A.M.

PRESIDING

Curator William R. Hart, President, State Historical Society of Iowa

INVOCATION

Dr. J. Raymond Chadwick, President, Iowa Wesleyan College

GREETINGS

Honorable Herschel C. Loveless, Governor of Iowa

Dr. Harvey H. Davis, Provost, State University of Iowa

Dr. Clifford L. Lord, President, American Association for State and Local History

Dr. S. K. Stevens, President, Association of Historic Sites Administrators

REMARKS

Hon. Scott Swisher, State Representative, Johnson County

Clarence W. Moody, Past President, Iowa Daily Press Association

Dr. Leslie W. Dunlap, Director, University of Iowa Libraries

INTRODUCTIONS

Distinguished Visitors: Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent, State Historical Society of Iowa

Curators of the Society: Curator W. Howard Smith

PRESENTATION OF KEYS TO CENTENNIAL BUILDING

Presentation by Burdette Higgins, Architect, Tinsley, Higgins, Lighter and Lyon

Acceptance by Curator Jim H. Nesmith, Chairman, Centennial Building Committee

BENEDICTION

Right Reverend Monsignor C. H. Meinberg, St. Mary's Parish

arrived, and on behalf of the citizens of Iowa, I pay tribute to the Society, its Board and staff, and you, the Director.

Following the presentation of the keys by Architect Burdette Higgins to Curator Jim H. Nesmith, chairman of the building committee, those present entered the Centennial Building and inspected it from sub-basement to its fifth floor — or level. The number of well-wishers was so great that, although 140 reservations had been made for the Dedication luncheon, 210 actually partook of the delicious repast at the University Athletic Club and heard splendid papers by Dr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary emeritus of the State Historical Society of Missouri, and Russell W. Fridley, director of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Dr. Shoemaker, who served almost fifty years as head of the State Historical Society of Missouri, and who in 1960 became the Consultant and Secretary Emeritus of that Society, addressed the Centennial audience in part as follows:

This occasion is truly memorable and I take great pride in having been invited to a place on your program. We all are especially favored in being guests of the State Historical Society of Iowa at the dedication of its Centennial Building. . . .

Through the decades Iowa has ranked first in literacy in our nation in addition to maintaining its reputation for tall corn and its record contribution of citizens to Long Beach, California. Iowa has always stood high in education and in preservation of its history. It is indeed fitting that your Centennial Building should be a capstone of your cultural accomplishments. It will always be pointed to with pride by the citizens of this state, and generations now unborn will look upon it as proof of the patriotic care taken by their ancestors in the historical heritage of the State of Iowa.

. . .
Most of us who believe in state and local history have rested our case on hope, pride, and work. You in Iowa have added more abundant work. There need not be exclusion of either foreign or state history, but if state history is to survive as a living force above an antiquarian and museum study, other states must follow the trail you are blazing in the State of Iowa. . . .

Dr. Petersen, you have proved yourself to be an able historian and scholar, a collector of historical materials, a successful popularizer of history, a fund raiser, and a public relations expert. You have measured up to the responsibilities of a difficult job and can take great pride in your highly successful career.

Citizens of Iowa, you have just pride in the contributions and accomplishments of your State Historical Society. Your Centennial Building is a challenge to your own people and to the people of all the states in the American nation. I hope the challenge will be met in the fine spirit you have presented it. Your Centennial Building will be a lasting *Memorial* to your great pride in Iowa and I also believe it will be a *Monument* to your future contributions to the history and culture of your great state.

The second speaker at the noon luncheon was Russell W. Fridley, director of the Minnesota Historical Society, who spoke in part as follows:

The story of the State Historical Society of Iowa — like that of similar organizations largely supported by public funds — reflects the same initial hopes, the small beginnings, the minute first budget — in this instance only \$250 — the continuing endeavor to grow and expand in influence, the constant experimentation that met with occasional success and frequent failure, the periods of neglect and stagnation, and the all too infrequent periods of strong leadership that made possible those rare leaps forward — one of which we observe today. . . .

The Centennial Building is the first home the Iowa Society has owned. This fact in itself is likely to affect the future character of the institution. The growth of the Society in its second century will doubtless be accompanied by new opportunities and challenges. Its basic purposes — the collection, preservation, and dissemination of Iowa's history — will remain unchanged, but the means it chooses to achieve these ends are certain to differ from those employed during its first century. It is obvious, I think, that the historical society of 1960 must respond with imagination and innovation to the problems presented by an aging nation and a rapidly changing world.

The publications programs of historical societies offer one of the best and most neglected means of explaining an institution's purposes, reaching various age and interest groups, and disseminating and interpreting that which is meaningful in state and local history. But printing is expensive. This brings us to one of the major dilemmas of the historical society of 1960: how much scholarly activity can such an institution afford? How much popularizing should it do? . . .

Following the noon luncheon members of the State Historical Society of Iowa and delegates attending the 20th Annual Meeting of the American Association for State and Local History were given a conducted tour of the Governor Robert Lucas Home in Iowa City and the Herbert Hoover birth-

place in West Branch. Curator Frank C. Allen of North English was host at a reception held in the Jefferson Hotel preceding the evening dinner.

MacKinlay Kantor delivered a powerful address at the evening dinner that held the audience spellbound. His brilliant, soul-searching speech — “The Historical Novelists’s Obligation to History” — together with those quoted in part above, will be published in full by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Mr. Kantor’s address closed a day of dedication, not only for the Centennial Building but also for the cause of state and local history.

MEMORIAL AND MONUMENT

*By Floyd C. Shoemaker**

Mr. Chairman, Dr. and Mrs. Petersen, President Hart, Officers and Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Members of the Society, Officers and Members of the American Association for State and Local History, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This occasion is truly memorable and I take great pride in having been invited to a place on your program. We all are especially favored in being guests of the State Historical Society of Iowa at the dedication of its Centennial Building. The fruit of 100 years of work in preserving, writing, and popularizing the history of Iowa as evaluated by your Governor, Legislators, and patriotic citizens, it is also a monumental tribute to the great dedicated contribution of your superintendent, Dr. William J. Petersen, and of Mrs. Petersen. Without the services of all these fine people you would not today be dedicating the Centennial Building of Iowa.

Through the decades Iowa has ranked first in literacy in our nation in addition to maintaining its reputation for tall corn and its record contribution of citizens to Long Beach, California. Iowa has always stood high in education and in preservation of its history. It is indeed fitting that your Centennial Building should be a capstone of your cultural accomplishments. It will always be pointed to with pride by the citizens of this state, and generations now unborn will look upon it as proof of the patriotic care taken by their ancestors in the historical heritage of the State of Iowa.

Although the State Historical Society of Iowa was not, as you know, the first in the United States, it was one of the first supported by the taxes of a willing people. The East can claim priority in the historical society movement but it is here in the Middle West that state supported historical societies were born. Among the pioneer state supported societies Iowa was in the vanguard and for more than 100 years it has remained in the vanguard due to such scholarly, aggressive leaders as Drs. Benjamin F. Shambaugh and William J. Petersen. Wherever public education is foremost, there you will

*An address by Dr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, consultant and secretary emeritus of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at the Dedication Luncheon of the Centennial Building of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, August 31, 1960.

find flourishing historical societies and if an example is asked for, I point to Iowa.

A state historical society financed in part by state funds is compelled by its very nature to serve people of widely varying purposes and interests. Professional historians and their students judge it largely in terms of manuscripts, documents, and other historical data. Many of them consider popularization of history bad within itself. But, if the society is to have vitality it must also serve the non-professional historian and the public at large. Some are concerned with genealogy, local communities desire information concerning their historical development, school children want help in locating material for themes and pageants. Some are interested in spectacular individuals connected with the history of their state as "Baby Doe" in Colorado, Jesse James in Missouri, and Buffalo Bill in Iowa. A state historical society must satisfy such curiosity if it expects to lead citizens in the direction of a deeper appreciation of their heritage.

Besides, there have been significant changes during the life of state historical societies in the development of other historical agencies, and this development, which is of great importance, is most creditable to the state societies. The state societies popularized local history as well as made scholarly contributions to state and local history. As the people became more familiar with their annals through the popularizing of their history, similar agencies were born to satisfy this interest, largely sponsored or helped by the state society.

The state society gave birth to the local historical society of which Iowa is almost preeminent in the nation. It gave birth to graduate studies in state and local history. It provided fertile soil for local research in social studies. It forwarded the growth of interest in historical sites and directed the marking of such sites both locally and along our highways. It advanced historical interest in other voluntary historical organizations and patriotic societies. It forwarded the establishment of museums. It provided material for the Westerners. And it met the demand for genealogical material by establishing separate genealogical divisions in its library. While these are only some of the important offshoots of the state historical society, they are by no means the warp and woof of the greater contributions to culture and education made by your society, which I shall soon take up.

But your days of hard and patient labor have just begun. Much of what you have accomplished will be neglected if your efforts in behalf of the

history of Iowa should lessen. This is not the tocsin of alarm of a visionary but the sober statement of a veteran in the field of state and local history.

There are now in the ascendancy international forces which care little or nothing for your history your accomplishments of the past, your former leaders in peace and war. These new forces are concerned with the present and the immediate future. For them the past provides only screened data for support of present decisions. These decisions are made both from choice and necessity. Their build-up is found everywhere — in the press, in the schools, and in legislative halls.

Fifty years ago these international forces began to compete with state and national history, today state and national history tries to compete with them. Before we have mastered our own history, the international advocates cite China, India as tremendously more important than Iowa. World peace may or may not hang on our knowledge of foreign history but it is certain that foreign history is not concerned with state and local history in America.

Other pressures also now tend to push state and natural history aside. Such discursive or pragmatic subjects as inflation, the cold war, communism, unions, youth delinquency, rehabilitation, psychiatry, and psychology now demand and receive consideration — in short, social studies including economics, political science, philosophy, religion. The feature of this competition lies not in the name, for much has been with us for years, but in the almost imponderable momentum in interest it has gained in the last half century, especially the last quarter of a century. There is little reason to think this interest will wane until the new age which gave it birth has passed. State and national history is faced with a crisis that is terrifying and must carefully channel its strength to survive. The American Association for State and Local History is providing fertile suggestions for this survival which should be combined with such industry and services along traditional lines as Iowa has followed.

Most of us who believe in state and local history have rested our case on hope, pride, and work. You in Iowa have added more abundant work. There need not be exclusion of either foreign or state history, but if state history is to survive as a living force above an antiquarian and museum study, other states must follow the trail you are blazing in the State of Iowa.

I have purposely left the great accomplishments and contributions of your Society until the last for they will stand as long as there is a State of Iowa.

Ranking first are the invaluable historical records which have been col-

lected on Iowa and which now find an honorific, permanent, fireproof home in your Centennial Building. Here they will be available now and in the future to every citizen of this state and to all who wish to use your fine library. Here will reside your valuable manuscript collection and your equally valuable newspaper collection. From here you will issue the nationally famed IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY and the equally famed *Palimpsest*. From here will be published as in the past your documentary series of the papers of the governors of Iowa. From here will come the scholarly contributions on the men and measures of Iowa in peace and war. Here will be drafted the addresses delivered by your superintendent and his staff to the citizens of your state. Here will be adopted plans for your noted historical field and river trips and for increasing direct interest in Iowa history through membership in your Society which now stands second in the United States in comparison with more populous and wealthier states than this great commonwealth.

You have built well on the foundations laid. You have not solved all the problems of a great historical society but you have solved many, some so hoary with age that the present generation has all but forgotten your solutions. Your predecessors were more alive and more intelligent than they were credited. They were not as stupid as some may think.

Dr. Petersen, you have proved yourself to be an able historian and scholar, a collector of historical materials, a successful popularizer of history, a fund raiser, and a public relations expert. You have measured up to the responsibilities of a difficult job and can take great pride in your highly successful career.

Citizens of Iowa, you have just pride in the contributions and accomplishments of your State Historical Society. Your Centennial Building is a challenge to your own people and to the people of all the states in the American nation. I hope the challenge will be met in the fine spirit you have presented it. Your Centennial Building will be a lasting *Memorial* to your great pride in Iowa and I also believe it will be a *Monument* to your future contributions to the history and culture of your great state.

THE CHANGING HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By *Russell W. Fridley**

This occasion calls attention to an achievement that actually took place three years ago when William J. Petersen successfully concluded his drive to raise \$150,000. Bill's remarkable performance made the Centennial Building of the State Historical Society of Iowa a reality. Its construction in the year that marked the hundredth anniversary of the Society's birth dramatically demonstrated that centennials CAN yield results of permanent value.

The story of the State Historical Society of Iowa — like that of similar organizations largely supported by public funds — reflects the same initial hopes, the small beginnings, the minute first budget — in this instance only \$250 — the continuing endeavor to grow and expand in influence, the constant experimentation that met with occasional success and frequent failure, the periods of neglect and stagnation, and the all too infrequent periods of strong leadership that made possible those rare leaps forward — one of which we observe today.

A significant fact in the Iowa story is that agitation for a state historical society began early, at least 19 years before the establishment of this institution. In September, 1838, three months after the Territory of Iowa was created, a plea for a historical society appeared in the *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*. "Almost every state of the union can now boast of its Historical Society," the paper said. "Why, then, we have often asked ourselves, is Iowa without one?" Five years later a historical society was organized in Burlington, but fourteen years passed before the present state society was started in Iowa City in 1857.

In this era of the 1850's, when both the historical society and the state were young, Iowa's history is symbolic for the nation. When Iowa entered the Union in 1846, it was the first state free from slavery to be carved from Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase. It seemed to symbolize a trend

*Russell W. Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul, read this paper at the Dedication Luncheon of the Centennial Building of the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City, Iowa, on August 31, 1961.

toward a growing bond between the North and the West and the increasing remoteness of these two sections from the South. When President James K. Polk signed the action that made Iowa a state in December, 1846, the United States was in the midst of a period of creative expansion. The philosophy of manifest destiny was in full flower, and the American nation was flexing its muscles as it pushed its national boundaries westward to the Pacific. By 1849 the Oregon Trail had opened a new route for adventurous settlers headed for newly acquired Oregon Territory. Texas and California had been added to the Union as a result of the Mexican War; the Mormons had trekked across the plains to found Utah; and the forty-niners rolled westward in a human tide seeking Eldorado in the gold fields of California.

A great surge of immigrants settled the Iowa prairies and forests during the mid-nineteenth century. In the four years between 1852 and 1856 the state's population more than doubled, and Samuel Clemens, later better known as Mark Twain, was living in Keokuk as a boarder at the old Billings house. From its veranda in 1857 he could see the Mississippi, which he was destined to immortalize in American literature. Up in Council Bluffs, the guardians of the town's morals were outraged to discover that Mrs. Amelia Bloomer and her husband had settled in their midst. After the furor created by Mrs. Bloomer's startling innovations in women's dress, she moved to Iowa in 1853 in an attempt to regain her health. She lived here for many years, and later became president of the Iowa Women's Suffrage movement, working quietly and sanely to obtain equal rights for women until her death in 1894.

When the State Historical Society of Iowa was founded in 1857, the tensions that divided the nation and led to the Civil War were already smoldering. In 1846, Iowa had been on the remote frontier, the edge of nowhere. By 1857 it was the interior, the middle west, rather than the West. In 1846 America had been confident and united; by 1857 it was bitterly divided and headed for tragedy. The division was heightened by such political instruments as the Compromise of 1850 with its Fugitive Slave Law; Stephen A. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which was introduced in Congress in 1854 and which effectively upset the precarious balance maintained on the slavery issue. The later 1850's were the period of Bleeding Kansas — a grim preview of the Civil War and the explosive Dred Scott Decision. On the horizon were the Lincoln-Douglas Debates in which the two men from Illinois would search for an answer to the insoluble

problem of slavery in the territories; and finally, of John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry. Thus, in a few short years the America that had worked to a larger and more united nation watched the Union break up along sectional lines. By 1857, the "irrepressible conflict" seemed unavoidable.

It was here in Iowa, by the way, that Brown collected the arms and ammunition to be used in his ill-fated raid on Harper's Ferry. And the raid had an interesting sequel in which Iowa was again involved. Several citizens of the Hawkeye State had taken part in the attack on Harper's Ferry, and when Virginia requested the apprehension and delivery of the youthful Barclay Coppoc of Springdale, Iowa, for his part in the affair, Iowa's Governor Kirkwood discovered legal and technical flaws in the Virginia extradition papers and declined to surrender Coppoc. Hawkeye citizens formed an armed guard about Springdale to prevent Coppoc's arrest. By the time Virginia corrected the defects in the papers, Coppoc had escaped to safety in Canada with funds contributed by Iowans.

These incidents suggest only a few of the many strands in Iowa's history, over which the State Historical Society has presided for 103 of the state's 114 years. The significance of its work has been intensified by the quality of the Iowa story. Few states as young as Iowa have had so interesting and meaningful a history. The Hawkeye State served as a crossroads for movements that shaped the course of our nation's development — Indian migrations, explorations, steamboating, railroads, and the westward movement of frontier settlement. It is doubtful that any state has produced larger or more varied array of national personalities within the span of a century. Iowa's native sons and daughters include a president — Herbert Hoover; a vice-president — Henry A. Wallace, and 14 members of presidential cabinets, among them four secretaries of agriculture — two Henry Wallaces, E. T. Meredith, and "Tama" Jim Wilson, who held the post for 16 years, longer than any other man in the nation's history. Others who called Iowa home are U. S. Supreme Court Justices Samuel F. Miller and Wiley B. Rutledge, Harry Hopkins, John L. Lewis, William F. Cody, evangelist Billy Sunday, Carrie Chapman Catt, Senators William Boyd Allison, Albert Cummins and James Dolliver, Populist leader James B. Weaver, Attorney Joseph Welch, and authors James Norman Hall, Ruth Suckow, and MacKinlay Kantor. These and many others have enlivened and enriched the texture of the story of the Hawkeye State, a story that is and will be preserved in the building we dedicate today.

The Centennial Building is the first home the Iowa Society has owned. This fact in itself is likely to affect the future character of the institution. The growth of the Society in its second century will doubtless be accompanied by new opportunities and challenges. Its basic purposes — the collection, preservation, and dissemination of Iowa's history — will remain unchanged, but the means it chooses to achieve these ends are certain to differ from those employed during its first century. It is obvious, I think, that the historical society of 1960 must respond with imagination and innovation to the problems presented by an aging nation and a rapidly changing world. This challenge was cogently stated by George F. Kennan recently when he said: "More history is probably written today than at any time in the past; and with respect to distant ages, once largely lost to historical knowledge, we are no doubt making progress. But with respect to the doings of our fathers and grandfathers, or even our elder brothers, we are, I fear, fighting a losing battle."¹

For example, in trying to determine what and how much to collect, we must come to grips with the appalling mass of 20th century records. Today's manuscripts collections are larger and often of less value than they might have been a century ago. The resources of most preservation agencies are already badly taxed and they are being forced to pick and choose carefully, improvising new standards to weigh the size and richness of each individual collection on the scales of potential historical value.

How historical materials can best be preserved once they have been collected is another problem that challenges the historical society of 1960. Intricate cataloging systems employed by all too meager staffs seem more and more unequal to the task of efficiently organizing vast collections to answer the increasingly more specific questions of the user. Then, too, other types of historical materials have gained prominence and require preservation. Pictures, for example, have become more valued in recent years, and the historic site has been a successful intruder in cornering a significant share of some historical agency budgets.

Undoubtedly, the weakest activity in many historical society programs has been in the area of dissemination and interpretation. Not only have most historical agencies failed to reach the public at large, but the public image of what a historical society is and does has weakened the effectiveness

¹ George F. Kennan, "The Experience of Writing History," *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Spring, 1960, p. 213.

of our efforts. In traveling around Minnesota, I am amazed by the number of people who have no accurate conception of the purpose of a historical society. Too often they believe it exists solely for genealogists or antique collectors or that it is a closed corporation serving only the wealthy and the elderly. Too often the man in the street regards the historical society as frivolous, or lacking in permanent value and pertinency for the space age. In this respect, we have done a colossally poor job of selling ourselves. We have failed to convince large segments of the population that we perform a meaningful function.

The publications programs of historical societies offer one of the best and most neglected means of explaining an institution's purposes, reaching various age and interest groups, and disseminating and interpreting that which is meaningful in state and local history. But printing is expensive. This brings us to one of the major dilemmas of the historical society of 1960: how much scholarly activity can such an institution afford? How much popularizing should it do?

Some of my colleagues I am sure would argue that scholarship and popularization are incompatible and must be carried on under separate roofs. They feel that the library, manuscripts collection, and historical journal should be separated from the historic site tour and the museum exhibit. While popularizing activities are full of pitfalls, I believe the two functions can prosper in one institution and that each can strengthen and aid the other. In many cases, for example, efforts to popularize history have yielded desperately needed funds to carry on scholarly activities. These scholarly activities, in turn, provide the popularizer with the facts he must have before he can begin work. The big problem, it seems to me, is one of balance — how to preserve a balanced program in the face of many conflicting demands. This has become increasingly difficult in recent years as history has become more and more profitable. The tourist trade has been quick to seize upon history's popular appeal and drawing power, and commercialization is all too apparent as tourist traps multiply and promoters of inaccurate centennial albums flourish. More than ever before, the historical society is required to prevent the distortion and cheapening of its product — the accurate interpretation of the history of its area.

The fundamental problem, of course, is one of inadequate resources. As a state like Iowa ages and its population increases, the job of preserving its history becomes more intricate and difficult. This situation is not likely to

change in the foreseeable future. One possible way, I believe, of coping with many of our problems is through more cooperative action. The value of the Association has already been demonstrated, and the organization will, I think, be of even greater value as our mutual problems multiply. The Association's efforts to secure legislation to give historical agencies more favorable tax exemption benefits should be encouraged and supported. Numerous other matters demanding attention might also be handled through concerted action by the Association.

The abundance of problems should not, however, discourage us as to the value of the historical society's contribution today. George Kennan writes:

It may be true that it is becoming increasingly difficult to reconstruct an adequate record of the past. . . . It may be true that we are condemned to explore only tiny and seemingly unrelated bits of a pattern already too vast for any of us to encompass, and rapidly becoming more so. All these things, to my mind, merely make the effort of historical scholarship not less urgent but more so.²

As the challenges of the 1960's pour in upon us, it is easy to lose sight of our basic job and our ultimate goal—the deepening of our people's understanding of history. A need for a widespread sense of history among Americans has never been greater. Our age is that of the specialist and technician. An increasing number of people seem to know more and more about a restricted subject and less and less about the world of which they are a part. Although our physical frontiers are expanding into space, greater conformity is developing among us, and opportunities to share moral and intellectual values are diminishing. To avoid being overwhelmed by the passing scene, we as individuals need to see our world in perspective—to understand it in terms of what has gone before. Today there are vital reasons for understanding and perpetuating the ties that hold our increasingly disparate and complex world together—the common heritage of traditions, customs, and values that cements individuals into groups and binds groups into communities and nations. Also we need to be reminded of the nature of the species we belong to, and of both the limitations and possibilities of the human condition. It is a reminder that history, and history alone, can give. History, above all, offers us an opportunity to better understand ourselves and our fellowman. Transmitting this realization to the people is the greatest challenge facing us in the 1960's.

² Kennan, *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Spring, 1960, p. 214.

THE HISTORICAL NOVELIST'S OBLIGATION TO HISTORY

By MacKinlay Kantor*

Some of you may have read, or may have been told, that ever since 1956 I have been writing a novel entitled *Spirit Lake*, which will be published next year. Thus I can say truthfully that nowadays my work lies in Iowa.

But forty years ago this summer, my work also lay in Iowa. I was a sixteen-year-old who earned his forty-cents-an-hour living as an assistant furnace-installer.

And just about forty years ago this week, one night my mother, Effie MacKinlay Kantor, put into my hands a tiny magazine. It was peculiar in appearance: yellowish, with red-and-black type; and there was a strange design on the cover. This was the first copy of *The Palimpsest*, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, and edited by John C. Parrish. It had been born only the previous month — July, 1920.

I didn't know what a palimpsest was, but I found out, that evening. The lines are before me now: "Palimpsests of a thousand and two thousand years ago were parchments or other manuscript material, from which one writing had been erased to give room for another."

I read on, fascinated.

"Out of the dusk of that far-off time came wild, strange, moving tales."

For me the Bovee furnaces of Waterloo, the bucket of retort cement, the tools, the castings, the scraped knee, the pinched fingers of the day, now stood forgotten.

"Tales that stir the blood or the imagination, that bring laughter and tears in quick succession. . . . Time is an exorable reaper but he leaves gleanings, and mankind is learning to prize these gifts."

And the final paragraph: "It is the plan of this publication to restore some of those scenes and events that lie half-hidden upon the palimpsests of Iowa, to show the meaning of those faint tantalizing lines underlying the more recent markings — lines that the pumice of time has not quite rubbed away and which may be made to reveal with color and life and fidelity the enthralling realities of departed generations."

*MacKinlay Kantor won the Pulitzer Prize in 1956 with his *Andersonville*.

On this day of dedication of the new home of the State Historical Society of Iowa, with all its richness in repository, may we offer devoted thanks to those men and women of that society who began this strenuous but rewarding task, and who are working and will continue to work in the accumulation and interpretation of Iowa's greatest treasure.

Fears and perplexities which confront our age could well grow into calamities, and contribute to disaster, were a man not equipped to face them. What is the toughest armor that the modern individual can put around himself; what is the freshest, clearest oxygen which may flow into his lungs? It is a serene, well-grounded, penetrating awareness of the Past — the blood-stained, powder-stained, fever-ridden, fierce-hearted Past — complete with its agonies, its triumphs, its rivalries, its devotions, its disillusionments and its dreams.

There is but one way to acquire this knowledge and awareness of the Past, and thus to profit from its lessons and be reassured by its extensiveness. That is through an eager and sympathetic perusal of the printed word which waits for all to read.

Always I have been an earnest believer in the effectiveness of the indirect approach, whether in literature or in love! Why the emotions should be a solid open pathway by which intellectual responses are reached, I know not; I would welcome and applaud the philosopher who could tell me. But I believe it to be true. The great barred, bossed castle doors which guard the intellect may be chained and welded shut at times; but the little postern gate of the emotions stands always open.

In the earlier portion of the Nineteenth Century, decade after decade, the American public dwelling on Free Soil had been exposed to an avalanche of anti-slavery publicity — statistics, citations — a vast barrage of printed or spoken material which came storming off the presses or came ranting from Abolitionist pulpits. Except amid groups of extremists, that same Northern public remained on the whole unimpressed. Abraham Lincoln himself is quoted as having countenanced in opinion the institution of slavery — though not with the fevered fanaticism of a Toombs or a Barksdale. And a certain disappointed, indigent ex-Army captain, whose legions would one day crush the last resistance of the Confederacy, was in that same time renting out to neighbors on the slave soil of Missouri the services of the black slaves loaned to him by his father-in-law.

But a woman wrote a novel. It was called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The time would come when she would stand before the President, and he would look down humorously from his height and say, "So this is the little woman who wrote the big book."

Incidentally, I think that Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's reply is a classic which should be held as a pattern by all novelists who aspire to modesty: "God wrote it. I merely held the pen."

It is not that the mind of the reader is a childish mind with a response to be invoked only by the presentation of an Aesop fable or a Grimm fairy tale. It is that the heart of decent mankind is a tender heart, as vulnerable to the gentle touch of affection as it is to the bullets which may be discharged by human suffering and thus come piercing in.

I hold that the tale which is told is not categorically filed away, as the bitter statistics of the Past may be filed; but keeps dwelling within the individual, and becomes a permanent part of him — a permanent enrichment, a permanent ennoblement — if there is nobility in the tale and in the teller.

The term "historical novel" has a dignity of its own, and should be applied only to those works deliberately attempting to recreate the past.

For instance, we may not regard Herman Melville as an historical novelist. He was almost strictly contemporaneous. And contemporaneous also were the wordy romances strung together by James Fenimore Cooper. Cooper's Indians spoke with the tongue of the Longfellow who was yet to speak in that tongue. But deerslayers were still stalking the forests of America, and in the same garb of his heroes, at the very time when he decorated his foolscap with ink. . . . Contemporaneous romances? . . . Move his Delawares and his Hurons into woods a little farther to the West, and you have a result as childishly current, and of the moment, as the Gene Stratton Porter of Limberlost days, the Edna Ferber of Emma McChesney days, the *New Yorker* fiction of this day and age.

The work by R. E. Spiller, published in 1931, refers to him aptly as *Fenimore Cooper, Critic of His Times*. Obviously the implication of criticism was inherent in consideration of *Homeward Bound* and *Home as Found*; but ironically the essential contemporaneous quality of Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* might also be suggested. Put a different kind of paint on the faces of Cooper's Indians, and promptly you have an extended romance of the time, if not of the place. The corn was still being parched; the eagle still saw his feathers fastened in a man's hair; the black powder was still being measured.

Now, at the risk of being accused as an impetuous and unappreciative Philistine, I am going to take my bow and arrow and go out and shoot a sacred cow. That sacred cow is *The Red Badge of Courage*.

It is not my wish to detract from its essential literary qualities. In re-appraising this book I had before me the Modern Library edition, issued by Random House, containing an introduction by Robert Wooster Stallman, Associate Professor of English at the University of Connecticut.

. . . I wonder if Stephen Crane was not put upon earth chiefly for the purpose of providing a field day for recondite or pedantic minds, in that they might roll his life and soul and works about the playing fields of their erudition, as they would so many medicine balls?

The extent to which Crane influenced American literature may be debated by those with the necessary qualifications for such argument; and so will be argued as long as the conceded importance of Crane lasts; and I am not at all sure how long that will be. But on the question of his influence on American *historical* literature, and his attainment in that field, I challenge the Crane glorifiers to point out where in any way *The Red Badge of Courage* is intrinsically a novel of Chancellorsville, or even a novel of the American Civil War, or even necessarily a novel of America.

It is all wartime, every place. It is a collection of miscellaneous, colorful, poetical fragments; nor does the breath and smoke of Chancellorsville or any other definite battle blow there.

The trees began softly to sing a hymn of twilight. The sun sank until slanted bronze rays struck the forest. There was a lull in the noises of insects as if they had bowed their beaks and were making a devotional pause. There was silence save for the chanted chorus of the trees.

Then, upon this stillness, there suddenly broke a tremendous clangor of sounds. A crimson roar came from the distance.

The youth stopped. He was transfixed by this terrific medley of all noises. It was as if worlds were being rended. There was the ripping sound of musketry and the breaking crash of artillery.

His mind flew in all directions. He conceived the two armies to be at each other panther fashion. He listened for a time. Then he began to run in the direction of the battle.

If this were but an isolated fragment, then it would be a gross distortion of justice to literary criticism (if indeed there is any justice in literary criticism) to quote it. But that is not the case. It is typical of the book.

That was one page, Page 95 of the Modern Library edition. The average page of this book contains no more Civil War, no more Chancellorsville than was shown in those paragraphs which I just read.

There is nothing about the Civil War in this book which could not have been learned by a moderately intelligent and historically-minded high school junior, in a few brief sessions with *Battles and Leaders* or whatever general secondary historical source the student chose. Dr. Stallman goes on at great length in his introduction, speaking of how Crane drew his material from "contemporary accounts of the Civil War, and very considerably, I think, from Matthew Brady's remarkable photographs."

Where is the resemblance to Brady photographs, where the actuality? Crane's people scarcely wear uniforms; you don't know what weapons they're shooting; you don't know how many rounds they've got in their pouches. It could be the Revolutionary War, it could be a Napoleonic war. There were practically no battle scenes, as such, photographed by Brady, except perhaps of artillery firing; because of the infancy of the process of photography, it would have been impossible to get troops moving in action. Brady photographs consist chiefly of a group of people posed in kitchen chairs around a farmhouse which is General So-and-so's headquarters; or a group of railroad men posed beside an engine; or a group of swollen corpses after a battle has passed.

Over the field went the scurrying mass. It was a handful of men splattered into the faces of the enemy. Toward it instantly sprang the yellow tongues. A vast quantity of blue smoke hung before them. A mighty banging made ears valueless.

Couldn't that have been the Battle of Bennington, or the Battle of Blenheim — or Normandy, 1944? Name it.

Read this book if you will for its poetry — and for the disordered imaginative portrayal of a battle which the author never saw completely, even with the eye of an addicted mind. Read it for its verve and philosophy. But pray do not regard it as a recreation of 1863. I hold it to be no more 1863 than it is 1918 or 1814 or 1777. Let the scholars gather round for their abstruse discussions, and let the literary editors attempt to formulate a prose as descriptive and unique as Crane's prose, in their *discussion* of his prose. (The eternal habit of critics.) But show me the history. You can't; you can't show the history to anyone, because it is not there. It does not exist in this book. I declare it to be worthy of no consideration as an

American *historical* novel. It is a novel placed *allegedly* in an American historical background.

No wonder that it was widely read and translated abroad. The story is the story of any Nation, any war, any soldier.

Dr. Stallman says:

Zola bored him. He disliked Zola's statistical realism, and he disliked Tolstoy's panoramic method, finding "Peace and War" (as he called it) tiresome.

I can understand this perfectly. I think he disliked statistical realism and panoramas because they were too damn much work. Crane was not at all interested in achieving the realism essential to bringing the past to life. Therefore I affirm that he was no historical novelist.

In wholesale fashion we should except from any claim on critical attention those stories wherein no effort has been expended to present history even in the guise of fiction.

In the same manner we ignore the comic books of the present day newsstand when we are considering the modern novel.

Indeed, as for a segment of those same comic books, they are but the modern extension of the old-fashioned historical juvenile. Historical juveniles comprised the bulk of the historical fiction which was written in America until a long generation ago; Britain also had its share. I am thinking of the voluminous works of G. A. Henty and Harry Castlemon, and the many writers who followed them — imitators not so much in style or content as in tradition.

Certainly some of these books were not without their value as projections of the past. But since they were aimed directly at a juvenile audience, they were necessarily reduced in scope. So, too, were the romantic novels of the past designed for popular appeal to an audience more adult in years — written by people like Charles King, shall we say; or Thomas Nelson Page, or Robert W. Chambers.

Again, there were books written even by romancers who sought inevitably the popularity which may be awarded by teen-age brains dwelling in man- and woman-grown bodies — books which bear rereading today solely for the history projected therein, however fragmentary and illusive, and because of the skill of the authors displayed in the telling.

But there was a limitation of basic conception — that limitation wrapped like swaddling bands around any writer of America in that period — any

writer who had neither the audacity nor the genius to become a Whitman.

Ruling custom and current social taste — often more or less the same thing, in this field — decreed that the beauties, glories and even dangers of the past could be painted; but that vice (as much a part of the pattern of human behavior as godliness, and, we fear, far more prevalent) must be ruled out. Vice was winked at or ignored except by a few bold reformers, according to the attitude then current. Thus historical novels such as *Janice Meredith* offer too fair and childish a face, no matter how much hard historical digging has gone into them.

The bodies were by turns pretty or ugly to look upon; often they were muscular; but they never were guilty of defecation. . . . It matters little if we present the soul and the dream, the far-reaching complexities of the human brain, and ignore the animal harbored in that same body. Any reader of ordinary intelligence must recognize that a great many puzzles of our existence are born in the flesh, not in the mind.

How much human agony *and* delight have stemmed directly from the sexual compulsion? How many statesmen have made decisions influenced primarily by gout or toothache? How many delinquencies have come about merely from the need for food, shelter, clothing? How many marriages have swayed in the balance or gone tottering merely because of some deviation in the woman's menstrual cycle?

Yet the Grundies who ruled the late Nineteenth Century, and extended their sway up into the Twentieth Century, decreed that few if any of these things could be mentioned, let alone explored. Tolstoy might write of the beaming face and delighted voice which greeted the fact that the baby's napkin was spotted with a good bright yellow stain, instead of the green which had shown there when the child was sick. Tolstoy did do this, and many similar things. But if they were done in American historical fiction of that age, I have yet to hear of them.

We can assume, then, that in America for a long time the terms "romance" and "historical novel" were practically synonymous. If you attempted to present the past without its hurt and evil and shock, then simply you did not present the past. You could not, with any enduring value, project the reader into a never-never land peopled solely by curly-haired heroines in antique stomachers, immaculate in person as they were in their thoughts; or captives who embodied every noble masculine virtue; and captors whose worst oath was a *Damme!* or an *Odd's Blood!* . . . The

cannon always seemed somehow a little too polished. If a cap misfired, it was only to save the life of the hero. If Washington prayed on the twenty-second of the month, his prayer could be recounted in its entirety; but if he was suffering from diarrhea, that might never be mentioned.

The life of the camp-follower was as much a part of army life as the story of the gunnery sergeant; but it could not be told. . . . At the ultimate extreme it might be suggested that an appalling stench came from the prison ships. But had a novelist dared to recount in detail the conditions prevailing below decks on one of those Revolutionary prison ships, he could not have found print, much less an audience. And, in turn, he would likely have found himself incarcerated in one of the calabozos of his own age!

Some of the legions of decency may have been sincere, but all of them were stifling. The hard flat board of prudishness was strapped across the brow of our green literature, and thus the cranium was distorted and misshapen, as surely as were the skulls of unfortunate Indian infants in the Columbia Valley long ago.

But let it not be assumed for one moment that the vast bulk of printed so-called historical fiction which has come tumbling from the presses during the past twenty-odd years has *per se* an historical or even literary value comparable to the best of those restricted works of the past. The mere existence of the screen itself, and possible emoluments accruing therefrom, were sufficient in many instances to disrupt effectually the long time which should have been spent and should be spent by the writer in the absorption of what is commonly termed his background.

I feel a certain guilt in this matter, because, according to printed opinion, I had a share in designating what was then termed the modern approach to historical fiction. I am referring to my fourth published and first historical novel, *Long Remember*, a story of the Battle of Gettysburg, which was a Literary Guild selection for May, 1934.

At the time I was young, and thus an experimentalist (I hope that I never become too old to be one, when peculiar ambition seems to demand it). It was my desire to make the Gettysburg battle as contemporaneous, as much a part of the reader's life, as if the wounded were still having their bandages renewed in the hospitals — as if the wheel-ruts of the Whitworth rifles were still creased across the nasturtium beds. Besides being spurred by the ordinary ambitions and considerations which impel the novelist, I

was imbued deeply with the notion that I must make the lesson and tragedy of Gettysburg a part of the lives of all readers.

It was a happy year of my young life when I saw these desires gratified, if not wholly satisfied, in the reception of the book by critics and public and historians. I was glad when I learned that *Long Remember* was to be a book club selection; but also I was glad when I found that it was to be used as a supplementary text-book at the United States Military Academy at West Point.

The historical value of previous works by Mary Johnston and James Boyd and certain other authors must not be discounted by any discerning reader; still perhaps they did not have what we could call, for lack of a better term, a modernity, a white-hot reality of the telling. I mention these writers not in the light of comparison, but as part of a chronological study of the progression of the American historical novel.

In reviewing *Long Remember* in *The Nation*, April 11th, 1934, Mr. Allen Tait wrote: "He is the first novelist in this country to apply to historical fiction the principles of the minutely documented realistic novel." Another reviewer suggested: "It would be valuable if a school of American historical fiction could be erected upon the foundation of *Long Remember*."

That school is in existence today, and has been for some time. Assuredly it has its retrograde dunces as well as its Rhodes Scholars.

Following *Long Remember* appeared such works as *So Red the Rose*, *Gone with the Wind*, and a host of others — whether to the enrichment or confusion of American historical literature, I leave for judicious critics to decide. I do believe this: that today, in 1960, the average American reader knows more about the facts and the feeling of the Civil War time than the average American reader did twenty-six years ago. That might be extended to cover a number of other periods in our history as well. Still, the Civil War, our greatest national disgrace and heroism, is top dog.

Fortunate are we who were released from the constriction of prudery at a time when our family conflict was so recent in recollection that many of us could know, as living individuals, people who participated therein.

But on the heads of those of us who broke this trail a generation since, must be pressed the blame as well as the wreaths. We opened up suddenly a new Miracle Mile whereon the unscrupulous could set up shop and manufacture and market their wares. The anachronisms of Hollywood are a byword; but they can be matched, page for scene, by lurid chronicles

which have in part sustained the lending libraries and doped the minds of the populace for more than two decades.

People who had been flooding the market with sex novels about flappers who were lured to roadhouses, found that they could write those same sex novels about the American historical scene: they had only to dress their flappers in crinolines. Many of these authors were adroit story tellers, although wholly unequipped for such a task through any emotional addiction to the past, through any previous condition of scholarly servitude. But, as I say, many of them *were* adroit story tellers; and have been able to buy Cadillacs and double martinis — to say nothing of an occasional mink stole!

These people piled sin upon sin, whether through the media of novel, radio, screen, or — later — television. The slipshod intellect approaches these matters with a debonair gesture. It is more than a quarter-century since first I went to work in Hollywood; I was greeted, then as later, with the shrug and the casual annoyed reaction: "Oh, what possible difference does it make? Who will know the difference? You and six other people." To me it is worse than a crime against Nature to have extant motion pictures, dramatic projections, or the printed word, manhandling carelessly the sacred facts of the past.

I think that a young doctor has to study for seven years before he obtains his degree. How long does a missionary or a minister have to study — or a priest? Is it asking too much that demand or restriction be imposed (could they be imposed: impossible, of course) on those careless hands which would come fumbling into our old trunks and saddlebags?

The lack of time and attention languished by some people in their efforts to familiarize themselves with the progress of events and manner of living of another time, passeth all understanding. I recall how a publisher of the late 1930's requested me to read a manuscript: a single-volume history of the Civil War. This was presented in a flighty, chatty, slangy version — designed, I assume, to catch the eye and appeal to the mind of that same portion of the reading public which depends for its formed opinion on contemporary affairs on the capsulized projection thereof presented in *Life*, *Time* and *The New Yorker*. (Incidentally, the author achieved later some reputation by dealing with the naval, not the general, pageant of our historic past.)

On reading this manuscript I was appalled by the loose flimsiness of his approach, and said so. The publisher stared at me. "Why," he said, "do

you realize that this man spent *one whole year* studying the Civil War?" I was filled with thoughts too acid, if not too full, for utterance.

There was another case, that of a young first-and-last novelist — a term on which I hold the copyright — a term which describes those persons who find that winds which blow through that dark between-the-worlds space in which novelists must wander are too cold to be endured. He came my way, sent by a dear friend, Steve Benet, whose great heart and generosity were often matched by his unrestrained enthusiasm for fledgling authors.

This man had written a book about the Iroquois, and while I knew nothing in this world about the Iroquois, the young man spun a very good yarn. I was deluded into thinking that his story represented an earnest exploration of the field.

I said to the author, in a manner of respect, "You must have spent an incalculable amount of time studying the Iroquois."

"Indeed I did," he responded feelingly. "I had to read three books."

I fumbled around for a moment. I couldn't believe my ears. I thought somehow or other that he must have said three hundred books, that my ears were tricking me. "Did I understand you correctly? Did you say *three* — one, two, *three* books?"

"Yes," he said. "What a job that was!"

As to whether or not his novel was ever read by anyone at all expert in the field of the Iroquois, I have no knowledge. But I believe that if anyone with a more than casual familiarity with the tribe and the time had read his book, they could have shot it full of holes.

I have no blood feud with that pouting, passionate, bare-bosomed hussy of the 1860's who comes raiding across the Ohio with Morgan, wrecks trains with Mosby, or goes loping with streaming hair through the Shenandoah Valley on the heels of George Armstrong Custer. She is by Rhett Butler out of Scarlet O'Hara, and was born under a jukebox. Her hair-do is by Antoine and her gowns by Adrian, if she *can* slug faster than Floyd Patterson and shoot straighter than Sergeant York. She is a fragrant puppet, constructed to delight those credulous souls who believe that a few You-Alls can resurrect the Virginia past, and that the Vermont Green Mountains are made of maple sugar. She is a honey-chile, if she is a wild cat, and I think that even Bruce Catton would be willing to leer at her. But let her speak of John Hall Morgan instead of John Hunt Morgan — let her gaze soulfully into Mosby's brown eyes instead of his gray ones — let her garb

her beloved Custer in a jacket of silk instead of the jacket of velvet which actually he designed for himself — then am I ready to strip to the waist and fight her with knives!

I do not think it fault-finding to demand that Fort Sumter be fired on in April instead of October; to insist that Abraham Lincoln speak in his congenital nasal treble, instead of a deep sonorous voice; to demand that George Pickett be placed in command, not of the fifteen thousand troops involved in the assault on the third day at Gettysburg, but in command of the five or six thousand whom actually he did command. I do not think it is being hypercritical; I think it is exhibiting good sense. If people are not taught to recoil from falsehood, they will never be able to award honesty the warm welcome which it deserves.

So-called historical novelists of the group I have been castigating have had a more horrific field day in the back yard of American tradition than Hollywood ever had. In 1956, Cass Canfield, the president of Harpers', sent me some bound proofs while I was in Spain. These represented a novel which was soon to be published — another novel about the Civil War. (When hard at work, I don't read any books sent to me like this; I don't see how anybody could, and still get his work done. However, we were just recuperating from the flu at that time, lying around in our rooms in Madrid; so I started to read.)

Soon I was screaming. Not content with having his Civil War soldiers use GI slang which was not invented until World War II or the Korean War, the author had given Jeb Stuart a black beard instead of a red one.

He had indited also a thrilling scene in which a Union cavalryman, in disguise, finds himself confronted by a party of Confederates, and is stricken suddenly with the thought that he is wearing the belt-plate which should have accompanied his uniform. Hastily he puts his hand over the belt-plate, which, we are told, is inscribed *U.S.A.*

There was no reason in the world why he should have done this. Most of the belt-plates extant in the Confederacy, and worn by the soldiers thereof, were Northern belt-plates — Federal Government belt-plates which had been stolen from arsenals in the South, or later perhaps captured from the Yankees. This soldier should have been very proud indeed of his belt-plate. It was a museum piece, and would command a high price today. Because, inscribed *U.S.A.*, it was undoubtedly the only belt-buckle worn by a soldier of the North which bore those letters. All the rest said simply *U.S.*

However, the real payoff came on a springtime day in 1863, as recounted by the author. A soldier and his sergeant were discussing the raid on which they were about to embark. "Don't think too lightly of it," said the sergeant, or something like that. "How would you like to wake up and find yourself in Andersonville?"

Why not indeed? Andersonville, in the spring of 1863, was a very nice place: lovely pine woods, green grass, plenty of birds and bees. They didn't even start to build the stockade until the following December. The first prisoners didn't come in until the next February.

Now, I recited these details and a number of others to my friend the publisher, and the general editorial reaction seemed to suggest that I was being captious. Captious indeed! Let the historical novelist create all the fictitious characters he cares to create. Fictitious scenes, fictitious utterances . . . let him erect and polish and garb the illusion that is his . . . *so long* as he stays within the limits of his own creation. But let him *not* select the *fact* from where it lies, a dusty sapphire in the jewel-box of Time, and take it out, recut it, reset it, and declare that he has an emerald.

The historical novelist himself must be the historical expert, the technical director which every Hollywood producer advertises that he has engaged.

. . . To what avail these technical directors serve in the films, I do not quite know. I have been acquainted with some of them, and know their frustration.

Once Dwight Franklin was serving in such capacity on a picture being made by Cecil B. DeMille. Dwight had his pirate horde armed appropriately with cutlasses of the period; he came back from lunch to find a full-fledged boarding attack going on on the set, with pirates scrambling merrily over the bulwarks, all waving Chicopee sabres — the curved cavalry sabre commonly used in the Civil War.

When Dwight Franklin protested, DeMille made a gesture of contempt. It was the old thing: who'll know the difference — you and six other guys? "Yes," said C. B. (rest his soul). "You had the pirates armed with cutlasses, but they didn't flash enough! I want to see a lot of *flash* in this scene."

His attitude is reflected and protracted in a great many of those authors who would nowadays engage in pursuit of that partridge so native to our mountains and our plains: the wild American historical novel.

I never had them do that to my cutlasses; but I had them do that to my Belle Isle. I spent considerable effort and many pages in *Arouse and Beware*

describing the Belle Isle prison, and how it was walled merely with a ditch and low earthen parapet. But what greeted us when the film was first projected before the eyes of American audiences? A stockade a mile high. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer *knew*!

The task facing any novelist, if he is at all sincere in ambition, is an horrific task. He must be all things to all people. He must be sexless, devoid of ruling prejudice, insofar as it is humanly possible to be so.

Would he be not only a novelist, but an *historical* novelist? Promptly his chore is doubled. No longer may he rely principally upon his own emotions or his own inventiveness. The bone and the tusk and the projectile-point of accomplished fact of the Past are waiting somewhere for his finding. But he must know where to dig, and once finding the place, must labor long. The poet who would stroll through the choice woodland and sing like its many bluebirds does not need to bear the weight of pick and shovel upon his shoulders; and without pick and shovel he may not dig up the potsherd which lies hidden deep in the black soil to be told of. And the historian-become-archaeologist-and-desiring-to-be-novelist-as-well—he must dig up the sherd, tell of it, and *then* walk the woodland and sing with all the grace of the bluebirds.

There are limits beyond which one should not proceed in an identification with the past; but I am a firm believer in the necessity for personal, mental and sometimes physical exploration. I have never believed that a reality near to actuality could be achieved by an individual who did not, to the limit of his imagination and endurance, delve for the experience which he relates. Furthermore, in such explorations new details project themselves, details which one never considered before.

Those of you who may remember *Arouse and Beware* know that it is the story of two Union prisoners escaping from the Belle Isle prison near Richmond, Virginia. In early March of 1936, when I was engaged in research on this novel, I determined to go to Richmond and familiarize myself at that particular season with the area northwest of Richmond. I had been there before, traveling on back roads, armed with a series of maps of Goochland and Louisa and Spottsylvania counties: maps prepared in 1863 under the auspices of General Gilmer, Lee's engineer.

The morning when I was preparing to leave Westfield, New Jersey, for Richmond, our young son took it upon himself to fall through the ice into a pool in a neighbor's yard. Great screams from the children, running to

and fro. . . . Timmy was rescued and brought in. It was an icy day — very cold. His mother was alarmed about him; she stripped off his clothes and rubbed him all over, and checked with the doctor over in Summit. The doctor said, "Watch him carefully, and if he seems to suffer any ill effects, put him to bed."

I hated to leave; but my wife said, "Timmy will be perfectly all right. You go on to Richmond, because this is the week which matches the week in your story. You want to see how it is climatologically right now. Don't hesitate for a moment; everything will be all right."

So I went. As our British friends would say, good job I went when I did; because soon after I'd left Westfield, the child came down with a raging temperature, and had to be watched critically for hours. Nothing of this did I learn until late that evening, when I telephoned from the Hotel Richmond, and learned that Tim was perfectly all right; his fever had broken. But I recognized a little of what my wife had been through that day. Also it's a long way down from Westfield to Richmond. *Then* there was no system of turnpikes or superhighways or huge bridges spanning the Chesapeake and Delaware. You had to go all the way around Robin Hood's Barn, through West Chester, Baltimore, Washington. An exhausting trip.

So, after this conversation, I felt in need of a little sustenance, and went up to a cafe on the roof where a party was in progress. They were having two or three parties; it was a public liquor and dance place. Some hospitable Richmond folks seated at a nearby table, seeing a lone man there, took pity on me and invited me over for a few drinks. Later we went out to the home of some of these people, and partied a while longer.

I was feeling really no pain when I came back to the hotel and got into bed. Then I started to upbraid myself. I thought, "You came down here to work and explore and work on your book; and here you've been going out carousing with a gang of people, no matter how nice they were."

After this mental castigation, I lay restlessly in bed; I won't say I was drunk; I'd certainly undergone some sort of change; I no longer felt exhausted and physically tired. My mind was jumping and jerking. I thought of the James River, how it must be rushing coldly over its rocks, with the memory of ice still remaining. I thought of Belle Island, which is still Belle Island, with the caissons of modern bridges sinking down; but in Civil War days it was a wasteland, smack in the middle of the river between Richmond and Manchester.

How did the river sound? How did the river smell? . . . In the middle of the night I looked at my watch — I guess it was two or three o'clock in the morning. And this was about March 4th or 5th, and it was about that date that I had my people fleeing away, and two of them swimming the river from Belle Isle to the Richmond side. I thought, "I wonder what it's like down there on the Island?"

No sooner thought, than I was out of bed, got myself dressed, went down to the garage, had them bring out my car. I drove to Belle Isle (you have to approach from the far side now, in order to get on the Island), past the brick and tile factory, and on out to the north end where the prison camp existed originally.

I had to leave my car some distance away from the site of the camp. I walked down to the margin of the river and heard the wild cold conversation, the tumult of the river boiling over its rocks beyond. I stood there and shuddered for my two starved prisoners; I thought what courage it must have taken for them to essay that swim, knowing that any moment bullets from the guards' rifles might rip their bodies.

Well, there weren't any guards around to shoot at me. Before I knew it, I had all my clothes off, and was wading out into the river.

I can testify from actual experience that the James River at Richmond, Virginia, in the first week of March, is a mighty cold place. I'm not a very good swimmer; but I didn't imagine that either of my men in the story was a very good swimmer either. So I struck out, and the next moment the current had me, and I was rolled underneath and tossed here and there, and banged against a rock. It wasn't very deep, but the current was so strong that you couldn't stand up: so for all intents and purposes, you might have been in twenty-five feet of water.

That cold, involuntary, inebriated submersion was just what I needed to shock me out of inebriation — or madness. Because, somewhere down under that water and banging against those stones, I thought, "Why, you can get killed this way!" After that I concentrated my endeavors in trying to return. I finally got back to shore; I ended up some distance below where I'd started out. I reached quieter shallows and managed to stumble over the rocks to safety.

Possibly I was trying to emulate my son in an icy midwinter submersion. But I was more fortunate than little Timmy: I didn't experience any fever. I deserved to have pneumonia or worse.

Finally I put on my clothes, and with chattering teeth got into the car and drove tremblingly, and I suppose erratically, back to the hotel. I went up, took a long pull out of a bottle which merely *happened* to be in the room, and fell into bed. I woke up in the morning all right except for a few bruises.

This I would not recommend — most heartily would *not* recommend — as a necessity for any novelist.

That was the second greatest peril I was ever in, in a deliberate exploration of the past. I think the *greatest* peril was the time when I decided to eat Andersonville food, and prepared it out of mouldy cornmeal and so on, without salt. . . . I don't recommend that either.*

What must the historical novelist be, as well as technical director? He must be an antiquarian of the first water. He must be at times botanist and zoologist, entomologist and ichthyologist. He must don in turn the frilled apron of the housemaid and the leather apron of the farrier. He must wear the spectacles of the schoolmaster, the opera cape of the actor, the shabby gilt slippers of the prostitute.

The demand put upon any creative novelist, to begin with, if he would excel, is enormous: patience, penetration, sympathy . . . as much slavish devotion to humanity as was manifested by the entire throng of Apostles . . . the malevolence of a council of inquisitors: these must be his virtues and his practice.

But he who would bring the Past quivering to life cannot buy his paints at the nearest shop and spread them quickly upon his palette. He must bruise the petals of rare flowers found in unfrequented spots, and mix them with the gum that oozes from equally lonely trees. He must climb distant and dangerous cliffs in order to scrape up his ochre. He must go far into the Sahara of libraries, to shoot the lonely camel whose hair, and only whose hair, will be fit to make his brush.

*It is comforting to know that MacKinlay Kantor survived to complete not only *Andersonville*, but also his latest novel with an Iowa setting — *Spirit Lake*. The editor first met "Mac" in 1931 when he was one of a party of sixteen who made a cruise on the *Arbutus*, chartered by "Steamboat Bill" for a round-trip from Dubuque to the head of Lake Pepin. "Mac" was then hovering on the eve of a brilliant and fruitful career — beginning with *The Voice of Bugle Ann* and *Long Remember*. He has a complete bound set of *The Palimpsest* and considers it one of the richest sources for the historical novelist. He is a Life Member of the Society.

All patriotism and all pride require that he shall make a molten sacrifice of his eyes and his fingers. The past lies buried deep and cannot be torn from its immurement without pain.

To the young and ambitious, I would say: "Go and live in that other time, before you would tell of it."

This has been done, it can be done, it will be done again.

I thank you.

THE 20TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

By William J. Petersen*

Historical Background

The American Association for State and Local History was organized in 1940 and was an outgrowth of The Conference of Historical Societies, an organization whose activities were largely limited to the issuing of two *Handbooks of American Historical Societies*, the first prepared and published in 1926 by a committee headed by Joseph Schafer of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and the second prepared and published in 1936 by a committee headed by Christopher B. Coleman, Secretary of the Conference of Historical Societies and head of the Indiana Historical Society.

In 1944, eight years after the Conference of American Historical Societies published its *Handbook*, the American Association for State and Local History issued its first *Handbook of Historical Societies in the United States and Canada*. A comparison of these two directories indicated a steadily increasing interest in the establishing or reactivating of local historical societies and the encouraging of those already in existence — but for the most part struggling along. Actually, the number of historical societies in the United States increased from 545 to 833, or 53 per cent. The increase in Iowa was even more spectacular, from 8 to 23, with an additional 14 included in a supplementary list. While a majority of the Iowa list were not active and some were actually dubious as to their inclusion, they nevertheless indicated that a stirring at the grass roots was taking place.

Between 1941 and 1947 the American Association for State and Local History issued twelve monographs which in some measure served as tools for the furtherance of the cause of state and local history. The titles of the monographs were:

1. What Should Our Historical Society Do?
2. Local History and Winning the War.

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3. Using Volunteers in the Local Historical Society's Program.
4. The Local History Museum and the War Program.
5. A Publicity Program for the Local Historical Society.
6. Broadcasting History: The Story of the Story Behind the Headlines.
8. The Development of War Records Projects in the United States, 1941-1943.
9. How to Organize a Local Historical Society.
10. Church Records and History.
 The Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches.
 Behold There Shall Be a Record Kept Among You.
 Historical and Archival Activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.
11. Writing Your Community's War History.
12. The Junior Historian Movement in the Public Schools.

In September, 1949, the American Association for State and Local History launched an impressive quarterly entitled *American Heritage*. An able introduction by S. K. Stevens, Associate Editor of the new magazine, sounded the tocsin for its readers.

"Our American heritage of freedom, with its emphasis upon tolerance, with its opportunity to achieve the utmost liberty of thought and action consistent with the good of all, with its 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' is our most precious possession. I believe we are at long last appreciative of the fact that it is worth more to us than all the gold at Fort Knox, or the wealth represented in all our bank deposits and the value of our products of farms, mines, and factories. If our freedom is ever lost, all of these material things would mean little.

"The most of us are likewise conscious today that this heritage of freedom could be lost to us in the future. Our way of life is threatened by other concepts of society and government which rest essentially upon the denial of our ideals of individual liberty. We believe in law and in order, as applied to the control of our society, our economy, and our political life. But we cannot accept totalitarianism which strangles the freedom of the individual to achieve and to exercise his basic liberties. That is the real difference between the American way of life and all the 'isms' which exist elsewhere.

"What is needed in America today is a new appreciation and understanding of our American heritage and its advantages over

the ways of totalitarianism and dictatorship. This understanding must rest upon a greater diffusion of popular knowledge about the historic roots of our national progress and development. The best place to begin is at home; for local history is truly living history, close to the experience of our people. A deeper loyalty to our institutions and our way of life must rest upon a firm bedrock of love of our home communities, and the translation of our national ideals and aspirations into individual and community experience and history."

American Heritage was designed to cover the history of the United States, and its neighbor — Canada. The success of the editors, working with virtually no funds, is reflected by some of the major titles covered in the first four issues constituting volume one.

The Champlain Valley	100 Golden Years California
Centennial Minnesota	Explorers of the Ohio
Colonial Williamsburg	The Freedom Train
Chicago Railroad Fair	Old Sturbridge Village

American Heritage was continued through five volumes of four numbers each, the last one ending with the Summer, 1954, issue featuring "Festival of the American Heritage" and "The Custer Massacre." Meanwhile, negotiations had been carried on over a number of years with The Society of American Historians who were desirous of acquiring the title *American Heritage*. An agreement was reached whereby *American Heritage* was to be published by the American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc. with James Parton as Publisher and Bruce Catton as Editor. The new magazine, to be issued six times a year in stiff covers, met an enthusiastic response. The first volume appeared in December, 1954, as Vol. VI, Number 1. By October, 1959, thirty volumes had been issued and a *Cumulative Index* for the first five volumes (VI-X) had been printed. From the start *American Heritage* has been sponsored by the *American Association for State and Local History* and the *Society of American Historians*. So successful has been the magazine from a lucrative point of view that the American Association for State and Local History has been enabled to perform far more effective work in promoting the cause of state and local history.

The publication that has knit the American Association together over the period of most of its existence is entitled *History News*. It is a small monthly leaflet of four pages begun in 1946 and gradually increased to 8, 12, and occasionally to 16 pages. Since 1957 a touch of green on its front

cover has made *History News* more attractive. Meanwhile, in addition to chronicling the more unusual things sent in by state and local history groups, *History News* has expanded enough to allow inclusion of some of the papers read at Annual Meetings. It also prints the Annual Program and lists the Awards of Merit announced at each Annual Meeting.

The American Association for State and Local History holds its annual meeting in the fall of the year. Over the past dozen years it has met at such points as Denver and Glenwood Springs, Colorado; Burlington, Vermont; Houston, Texas; Madison, Wisconsin; Williamsburg, Virginia; Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts; Columbus, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; Salt Lake City, Utah; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Iowa City.

The Program Committee for the 20th Annual Meeting in Iowa City was headed by Russell Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society. The program prepared appears on pages 49, 50, 51, 52.

The objectives of the Association as outlined by Albert B. Corey on the occasion of the Sturbridge Village meeting are:

TO DEVELOP a deeper understanding and appreciation of the American heritage as it rests upon the story of men and events in our communities and states and bring LOCAL, LIVING HISTORY TO THE PEOPLE.

TO BRING TOGETHER in one organization the people and the organizations interested in and working in the field of state and local history.

TO ENLARGE AND IMPROVE by helpful suggestions and exchange of ideas the work of all societies and organizations active in local history.

TO ACT as a clearing house for all information, ideas, contacts, news, and thought in the field of local history as a means of preserving our history at the local level and making it known to ALL the people as a basis for UNDERSTANDING OUR HERITAGE AS A FREE PEOPLE.

TO ENCOURAGE the use of state and local history in the SCHOOLS, and by the PRESS, RADIO, and TELEVISION as a means of bringing the American story to the people everywhere in the most interesting and lively forms.

TO PROMOTE activity in preserving the materials of American history, such as private and public papers, records of business enterprise, early American newspapers.

Having outlined the objectives, President Corey, who is the New York State Historian located at Albany, emphasized the value of bringing together

PROGRAM

*Twentieth Annual Meeting*AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR
STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31

8:00 a.m.

Registration—Centennial Building

9:30 a.m. Conference Room No. 2, Centennial Building

"NEW DIRECTIONS AND TRADITIONAL FUNCTIONS IN OUR LOCAL
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES"CHAIRMAN: *Don Herald, Public Museum, Davenport, Iowa*

PANEL:

*Clark J. Pahlas, Olmsted County Historical Society, Rochester, Minn.**Mrs. John Wilterding, Menasha Historical Society, Menasha, Wis.*

9:30 a.m. Conference Room No. 1, Centennial Building

"THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY MAGAZINE—DOES IT HAVE A FUTURE?"

CHAIRMAN: *James Rodabaugh, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus*

PANEL:

*Michael Kennedy, Montana Historical Society, Helena**Bertha L. Heilbron, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul*

PANEL COMMENT:

James C. Olson, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

11:00 a.m. Dedication of the Centennial Building

1:00 p.m. Dedication Luncheon, University Athletic Club

*Floyd C. Shoemaker, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia**Russell W. Fridley, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul*

3:00 p.m. Historical Tour

Plum Grove, home of Governor Robert Lucas, first governor of Iowa
Territory

Herbert Hoover Birthplace, blacksmith shop and new library

Return to Iowa City

7:00 p.m.

Reception and Dinner, Jefferson Hotel

Presiding: *William J. Petersen, Supt. State Historical Society of Iowa*Speaker: *MacKinlay Kantor, "The Historical Novelist's Obligation to
History"*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

9:00 a.m. Visit Old Capitol—Territorial and State Capitol

9:30 a.m. House Chamber, Old Capitol

"URBAN RENEWAL AND HISTORICAL PRESERVATION"

Chairman:

David W. Knepper, University of Houston, Houston

Panel:

Aubrey Neasham, California Division of Beaches and Parks

Robert G. Stewart, St. Louis County Historic Buildings Comm.

Panel Comment:

Ronald F. Lee, National Park Service

9:30 a.m. Senate Chamber, Old Capitol

"MANUSCRIPT COLLECTING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: THE BATTLE OF THE BULK"

Chairman:

David C. Mearns, Library of Congress

Panel:

Edith Fox, Cornell University, Ithaca

Josephine Harper, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison

Panel Comment:

Lucile M. Kane, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

Special Ladies Program—For Registered Out-of-State Members

9:30-12:00 a.m.

A Visit to Amana Homes and Gardens

Hostesses: Amana Ladies

1:00 p.m.

Lunch at Bill Zuber's Dugout, Homestead

Presiding:

Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J.

"Communal Life in America"

Arthur Bestor, University of Illinois, Urbana

2:30 p.m.

Tour of Amana

Homestead Church

"Historical Background of Amana," *Dr. Henry Moershel*

"Communal Life in Amana," *Martin Dickel*

3:00 p.m.

Tour of the seven Amana villages—Homestead, Upper South and Lower South, West, High, Middle, and East Amana
Amana Heim, Open Hearth Oven, Kitchen House, Refrigeration Plant, Cemetery, Meat Market, Furniture Factory, and Woolen Mills

6:00 p.m.

Reception at Ox Yoke Rathskellar, Amana

7:00 p.m. Dinner at Ox-Yoke Inn, Amana

Old Fashioned Songfest

Zither music by *William Dittrich* and *Henry Dietrich*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

9:30 a.m. Conference Room No. 1, Centennial Building

"TRAINING PROGRAMS"

Chairman:

Clement Silvestro, American Assn. for State and Local History

Panel:

E. McClung Fleming, Winterthur, Delaware

Walter J. Heacock, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation

Panel Comment:

William J. Murtag, National Trust for Historical Preservation

(Sponsor: American Association of Historic Sites Administrators)

9:30 a.m. Conference Room No. 2, Centennial Building

"LEGISLATION SUPPORTING THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC SITES"

Chairman:

Nyle Miller, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka

Panel:

Rogers Young, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

*William S. Tarlton, North Carolina Dept. of Archives and History,
Raleigh*

Henry Brown, Detroit Historical Society, Detroit

12:30 p.m. University Athletic Club

Business luncheon of the Association

Presiding:

Clifford L. Lord, Columbia University, New York

2:30 p.m. Conference Room No. 2, Centennial Building
 "Raising Funds for the Historical Agency"

Chairman:

Clifford L. Lord, Columbia University, New York

Panel:

S. K. Stevens, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Charles van Ravenswaay, Missouri Historical Society

Leslie Fishel, State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Thomas Vaughan, Oregon Historical Society

Special Ladies Event—For Registered Out-of-State Members

2:00 to 5:00 p.m. Visits to Iowa Farms

Hostesses: Ladies of Johnson County Farm Bureau

5:30 p.m.

Reception

7:00 p.m.

Annual dinner of the Association—Mayflower Inn

Presiding: President-elect of the Association

*Dr. Clifford Lord, President of the American Association for State and
 Local History—"New Horizons"*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

Leave Iowa City at 8:00 a.m.

9:00 a.m. Visit Harlan-Lincoln Home at Mount Pleasant

10:00 a.m.

Sheaffer Pen Company—coffee and tour

Site of Old Fort Madison

11:00 a.m.

River road trip to Keokuk. Spanish Land Grant, Fort Des Moines No. 1,
 Half-Breed Tract, and great names like Zebulon M. Pike, Robert E.
 Lee, and Francis Scott Key

12:00 noon

Mississippi Steamboat Trip and Luncheon

Courtesy State Historical Society of Iowa

6:30 p.m.

Dinner—Keokuk Country Club

in fellowship all people who love the history of their community, state, and nation, in order that each might personally have an "opportunity to influence creatively the development of many projects and activities which will promote the preservation of our American heritage and its use to strengthen our American Way of Life."

Written on the occasion of the Sturbridge Village meeting, there probably was no time in this Nation's history when there was a greater need of acquainting Americans with their rich heritage. State and local history is a "key" to this story and every state historical society should dedicate its every effort to unfolding it, emphasizing the "blood, sweat, and tears" as well as the hopes, the prayers, and the sacrifices that brought the dreams of the pioneers to a rich fruition. For it is of such stuff that dreams are made; it is of such stuff that Iowa and the Nation were born and flourished.

As one comes to the end of what proved one of the most interesting and rewarding meetings of the American Association for State and Local History one cannot help but ask the question: "How does the State Historical Society of Iowa rank in reaching the various objectives outlined above?"

(1) We might first point out that the State Historical Society was established by law at Iowa City in 1857, and that it has been issuing its publications in various forms for ninety years.

(2) The Society has acquired over a century of time 82,000 books, 30,000 pamphlets, 10,000 bound volumes of newspapers, over 2,000 rolls of microfilm, and innumerable manuscripts, documents, photographs, maps, etc.

(3) Its publications fill more shelves of space than any other Society in the country. This is due to the fact that we publish a monthly, a quarterly, and books. Our monthly magazine, designed for popular consumption although accurate in every detail, anticipated the Junior Historian movement by years.

(4) The Society began pictorializing *The Palimpsest* in 1948, one year before *American Heritage* was born, thus greatly increasing the value of as well as the interest in our popular monthly.

(5) It began the use of three and four color on *The Palimpsest* cover just before the dedication of its new Centennial Building in 1960.

(6) The Society has built up a membership of over 6,500; its depositories and exchanges bring the total mailing list to almost 7,000. This membership is not padded by counting all members of a subscribing county historical society as members of the State society.

(7) It is one of the few societies that distributes its publications free to 150 college and tax-supported libraries within the borders of Iowa so that all citizens may have access to them.

(8) It has brought its members closer together through its fifteen annual steamboat excursions, enjoyed by as many as 700 participants each year.

(9) It has taught the productivity of Iowa through its All Iowa Menu — 42 Iowa raised and processed foods served on a one-day steamboat trip.

(10) It has promoted overland trips to Amana, to the Little Brown Church, to northeast Iowa, and on railroad excursions.

(11) It has more than tripled the number of active County Historical Societies in the past decade.

(12) Its publications on Iowa Government have won the unstinted praise of the Brookings Institute. Its Bulletin of Information Series have been of inestimable value to schools, study clubs, and county historical societies. The following titles of the Bulletin of Information Series are indicative of but a fragment of the State Historical Society's work. Need more be said?

1. Provisions for Membership in The State Historical Society (1904)
2. An Iowa Program for Study Clubs (1904)
3. Suggestions to Public Libraries and Local Historical Societies Relative to Collecting and Preserving Materials of Local History (1904)
4. Suggestions to Local Historians in Iowa (1905)
5. Organization of County Historical Societies (1906)
6. An Iowa Program for Study Clubs (1907)
7. One Hundred Topics in Iowa History (1915)
8. Collection and Preservation of the Materials of War History — A Patriotic Service for Public Libraries, Local Historical Societies, and Local Historians (1919)
9. Opinion of American Historians on the Work of the State Historical Society of Iowa (1920)
10. Pageantry for Iowa Communities (1923)
11. State and Local Archaeology Surveys (1923)
12. State and Local History in the High School (1924)
13. The Pioneers — A Pageant of Early Iowa (1927)
14. The Story of the Indian — A Pageant of Early Iowa (1928)
15. Two Hundred Topics in Iowa History (1932)
16. Organization, Purposes, and Activities of Local Historical Societies in Iowa (1941)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY MAGAZINE: DOES IT HAVE A FUTURE?

By *Michael Kennedy**

If the world escapes the unspeakable devastation of an atomic holocaust; if we continue to live our lives in a relatively free world; if nothing less than cataclysmic change alters the present order of society — then I am certain that the historical society magazine does, indeed, have a future!

As a matter of fact, having disposed of the horrible exigencies that alone could make it otherwise, I hasten to say that the future for historical publications generally holds every prospect of being more promising, abundant and successful hereafter than it has ever been in the past.

We are all aware that nations, like individuals, as they grow older seek solace in the so-called "good old days." The past automatically becomes more precious. We seek, with age, both solace and pleasure in the antiquarian retreat. For this reason, alone, the future of historical society magazines will be brighter if we only make it so. It will not happen accidentally.

The obvious and negative point here is that a historical society magazine generally will not be successful unless many of the hide-bound shackles are removed. It must frequently have the benefit of an infusion of new ideas and new vigor. It requires a degree, at least, of modern journalistic approach, which often means a rather drastic face-lifting. In extreme cases, it may take shock treatment to make the patient respond. An impartial outside expert is the best judge of that. Those of us who are too close to our own magazines are likely to have blind spots. If you really want to shake up your magazine and get it on the beam, I suggest you call in an outside expert. Your reaction to his advice may be traumatic. But it will provide a pattern for improvement, which usually is difficult to discern if we live too close to the forest to really see the trees.

In order to be more specific about the broad subject, I find it necessary now to be subjective and personal about my own institution, *The Historical*

*Michael S. Kennedy is editor of the *Montana Magazine of Western History*.

Society of Montana and Montana, The Magazine of Western History. Most of my observations, experiences and conclusions on the subject—for what they are worth—have been fired in the crucible of the day-by-day heat, for eight years, at this institution and on this magazine. You will forgive me then if I first delineate personal experiences and ideas before generalizing any further on the subject.

I believe I state the case accurately when I say that *Montana Magazine* has succeeded because it has been unorthodox. It is more flamboyant than most historical society magazines. It stresses mostly the colorful, the exciting, usually the more popular aspects of history. It is extrovert, rather than introvert, and leans constantly more strongly to the regional rather than to the local scene. It was (as nearly as we can ascertain) the first state magazine of history to be placed on newsstands and to be sold as single copies in book stores. Our experience proved that this can be successfully done. In January, 1956, when American News Company was still the major bulk magazine distributor in the United States and Canada, we were asked to supply them with a minimum of 100,000 copies per issue for United States and Canadian distribution. Part of this commercial approach came from the fact that this was a unique new publication, that it had proven saleable for us (even through Safeway Food Stores) and that this magazine already enjoyed, by subscription, readership in every one of the 48 states and in 22 foreign countries.

Without going into detail may I say that we simply could not handle such huge expansion thrust on us so unexpectedly. But as long as American News continued in large-scale magazine distribution, for about a year and a half thereafter, we did supply 2,200 individual magazine sales outlets (newsstands and book stores), in more than half of the states of the Union, with more than 60,000 copies. Although this "success" was pleasant, it presented too many headaches. We now restrict ourselves to about 400 newsstands and book stores, which we can properly handle with our own staff.

The magazine has been used repeatedly to promote Montana, although that is not and never was our basic intent. Four years ago, with only a change of covers, 10,000 copies of it were used by the largest radio network in our state for nationwide distribution. Fifteen thousand extra copies, with only a slight change of cover and content, became the program for a major Charles M. Russell exhibit at the National Galleries of the Smith-

sonian Institution at Washington, D. C., in October and November, 1958. We have done other special or commemorative issues. This is unusual, even for us, so I mention it at this time as an exception rather than the rule.

Let me now go back a bit to the beginning. In 1953 the Historical Society of Montana suddenly emerged, under the direction of K. Ross Toole, from a half century's dormancy as a useful but little-known and little-used archival setup, badly housed in a dim corner of the State Capitol, to a full-flowering ambitious institution. The new society was attempting to emulate the best twentieth century concepts of what a good historical society's program should be. It was magnificently housed in a new, four-story, spacious building, with two museums, four art galleries and a splendid library with more than adequate stack facilities; plus microfilm, photocopy and most of the other salient features useful in the trade. The magazine (then entitled *The Montana Magazine of History*) was the only part of the new look that appeared to be a vestige of the past. Although new, just two years old, the magazine possessed no distinguishing features; it was simply a prototype of the most standard and pedestrian of state journals. In inviting me, a working journalist with a background of historical research and writing, to take over the magazine, Toole expressed the strong conviction that the magazine should not be written for a chosen few only—for the professional antiquarians, or simply for the scholars and specialists. Rather, Ross Toole said, it should be the house organ of a going society; an important public relations arm of the library, museums and art galleries and other services; and, above all, it should appeal to the widest possible segment of lay-people, including Montana school children who were being sadly neglected in an awareness of their heritage, as well as persons everywhere who found the subject of Western history of special interest.

By modernizing the magazine, by giving it eye appeal and, as one academic critic put it, "daring do" as well, it became a vital part of the society's rather amazing growth. In fact, the magazine, after attaining its general level about five years ago, became the axis around which the society revolved; or, to put it another way, it has been the dual-purpose fuel that fires the rocket and then keeps it in orbit. The magazine not only became self-sustaining, with no subsidy whatsoever, but it actually provides a good annual profit to help keep our museum, galleries, library and research scholarships moving ahead, supplementing state-appropriated funds, which have

never been adequate. To date it has netted about \$75,000 profit for general development of the society program.

Now to go on to another point, perhaps the most significant I have to offer: In 80-plus years after its founding in 1865, the Historical Society of Montana published ten volumes of "contributions." These were highly worthwhile, valuable media for recording, preserving and disseminating episodes in Montana history, plus the biographies and autobiographies of pioneers. Oddly enough, these worthy books had little public appeal. Copies are yet available in volume VI, which appeared in 1907. The press run was tiny. Only one set of the "Contributions," volume I, was ever re-published. Volume X, brought out 20 years ago (and a veritable gold mine of facts on two important fur trading posts), sold only 400 copies in 20 years.

The "Contributions" were book size, ranging in length from 325 to 500 pages. To break it down quantitatively, each carried from 92,000 to 132,000 words of text. An average volume (four annual issues) of our present quarterly magazine carries, in fewer pages (260), the equivalent of 160,000 words of text. Although the first few volumes of the magazine were smaller, their total, too, was equal to a volume of the "Contributions." In other words, in less than eight years with the magazine we achieved what it took 80 years to accomplish with the "contributions" in the recording and preservation of so many words of written history.

As for the dissemination of history — which is a more fundamental and vital service — the magazine broadened this tremendously. A single issue of the magazine now enjoys a vastly greater readership than did all ten volumes of the "Contributions" during their years of issue. By the standard rule of thumb, we estimate that at least 60,000 persons now read — and this readership is voracious and intensive — each issue of *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*!

As for quality of subject matter, which is much more important than any quantitative analysis, the magazine is superior to the "Contributions." Most of the contents of the "Contributions" were either staff-written or contributed by amateurs. *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, on the other hand is professional.

And so, to return to the chronology, once Toole ascertained that there was inadequate justification for either hoarding Montana's priceless heritage or clothing it in dreary garb and once here was established a philosophy

and a skeletal publishing formula that would sustain itself, *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* started to grow. The public acceptance was surprising—almost unbelievable! For the past six years, *Montana* has been reaching more people, as nearly as we can ascertain, than any other state historical journal except Missouri's. Principally, I believe, we gained this readership by a careful choice of colorful subject matter and by the fresh and stimulating use of modern magazine techniques, basic to which is pictorial journalism. People who once had only a passing appreciation of history and many who had none are now our dedicated readers. Most of our readers, however, are studious laymen and serious collectors. We appreciate the need for scholarship but we are not aiming at the inverse ratio of only academic or ultrascholarly readers.

I don't feel that we need apologize. In addition to many scholars and professional historians, *Montana Magazine* reaches such prominent Americans as President Eisenhower; Peter Decker, the rare book collector and dealer; the presidents of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railroads; Bruce Catton, author and editor of *Saturday Review*; John Hammond of Amerada Petroleum Company; Burton K. Wheeler, Washington, D. C. lawyer; C. G. Knoerzer of Republic National Bank of Texas; Condon MacKay of the Carter Oil Company; Dan Mich, editor of *McCall's Magazine*; the late Hoffman Birney and Stanley Vestal; Robert Stevens, New England industrialist and former Secretary of the Army; Eleanor Roosevelt; the governors of many states and several senators and congressmen, to indulge in some name dropping. We are read, too, by many of the great national advertising agencies. You will find current and back copies of *Montana* in the reading lounges of crack Northern Pacific and Great Northern transcontinental trains and on the desks of publishers such as Savoie Lottinville, Alfred A. Knopf, Walter Frese and Clarkson Potter.

I hope, again, you will bear with me for having dwelt so long on the Historical Society of Montana. This has been done to make the rather obvious point that *a successful publication program is important to the growth and development of a successful historical society*. On this basis alone the historical society magazine does have a bright future.

Our Montana situation certainly has not been cited as being the ideal one. Nor am I endeavoring in any sense to convey the idea that this magazine is the epitome of what every historical publication should be.

Indeed not! I do think it fits well into our specific, peculiar program. In approaching the subject, however, of the future of historical magazines, it is easier to illustrate specifics within the context of personal experience.

Having established this with your patience, you enable me to become more dogmatic and to indulge in generalizations. On the plus side of the ledger it would appear that (1) many historical magazines are well edited, (2) most of them offer solid and useful reading matter, (3) all of them are entitled to a place in the sun, and (4) last but not least, the future of historical magazines is promising but only if skillful and immediate effort is made to lift them from either limbo or near-oblivion.

But that's about as far as it goes. Almost everything else falls on the minus side. Regretfully I must say that:

1. Most historical publications have fallen far behind the times in acceptable style, format and typography. Let me elaborate by a somewhat abstract comparison with a museum. Those of you with museum experience must admit that techniques have changed marvelously in recent years. Most, I am sure, agree that the new techniques generally are good. Rather than cram as many objects and artifacts as space will permit into a dimly-lit museum case, we see the wisdom of skillful selection, research and the delicate blending of theme and subject. Augment this with the artistic use of light, color, art and artifact and you create a compelling display. Here is offered eye-appeal and graphic story-telling impact that almost compels a visitor to stop. Painlessly and pleasurably, a modern museum (whether by diorama or display) imparts knowledge, information, even inspiration. But are the institutions that so fully embrace such proven museum techniques as cognizant of the impact of changing times, styles and techniques in their publication programs? I am afraid not!

Public habits do change. Americans of this age who read, even the older generation, are unusually picture — and color — conscious. They seek display. The circus make-up newspaper of twenty years ago which to many is disgusting or at least irritating in today's accepted standard. Yet most historical publications continue to live in the past. Some of them, altogether too many, are almost unchanged in style and format from twenty or thirty years ago. That a publication is historical does not mean that it should be the prototype of a pamphlet published in a county print shop of 1920, even for the most proper and conservative institution. That's a common and serious shortcoming in too many historical publications!

Point 2. As historians we have somehow shied from pictorial documentation. Nothing is more stimulating to the modern reader of any kind of publication than a good picture. In history the use of valid documentary photographs and authentic illustrations has long been accepted. Yet of all publications, the general run of today's historical publications is guilty of the sin of omission of documentary illustrations. For analytical purposes, I grabbed at random ten current state historical magazines from our library reading room. I had never analyzed them previously on this basis. The shock was even greater than I suspected it would be. Two of these magazines had no illustration. Only half of them had art or photographic illustration on the cover. One of them carried only three illustrations in 48 pages and two of these were maps! The largest number of illustrations I found was 21, most of them very small, and restricted to only two of ten articles throughout 64 pages of solid text. I realize this sampling is not scientific, nor is it sufficiently broad, but I am sure it does establish the fact that in this picture-minded world in which we now live, historical publications, generally are missing the boat. And some of them have missed it so completely that they may be going under water for the third time.

Point 3. Display typography and use of color are today accepted parts of any modern publication. Yet on both scores I found the ten magazines scanned also missing the boat. Where a photo, art work, or illustration is not available or is too expensive to use, color and typography are good, easy substitutes for opening up a page and adding eye-appeal and reader-interest. Generally, the finest magazines — art, literary, intellectual — carry excellent typography. Yet of half of the previously mentioned historical magazines, none of which were adequately illustrated, all were guilty of using bad type faces, display type that was too small and poor typography in general. Not in a single case did I find the use of a tint block or colored print, which would have immeasurably brightened a page — at least the lead page and, hence, an entire article. This is simply a matter of average taste, style and aesthetics based on accepted current publishing standards that must be met if the product is not to appear inferior. It is window dressing, I know, but unfortunately our product is judged by this Madison avenue label.

At this juncture, I know that some of you are saying that cost is a prohibitive factor. I say that this is not so. I am not speaking in terms of the lavishness of *American Heritage*. I am not saying that you should have a

staff artist, or hire art done, or that you must pay for photographs. I am only saying that any historical organization worth its salt has all of the material needed. In many cases, half-tones and line engravings are less expensive for the same amount of space than is composition, and all magazines must have composition. It's simply a matter of ingenuity and effort to ferret out and use it well with what you have available. Anyone with some extra journalistic sense or know-how can do the job.

And my final point!

Although the quality of writing and editing is generally excellent, too many historical publications have fallen too far behind in the mechanics of modern magazine journalism. Too many historical publications have tried so hard to be quiet, sedate and "proper" that they not only annoyed their readers but have seriously damaged circulation. I suggest that we all take a cold, critical look at our magazines. All of them (certainly my own) can be improved upon. Many of them are in desperate straits. Some of them are almost dead without knowing it and only drastic surgery may save their lives. These "lives" are worth saving!

The future of the historical society magazines is as bright as the gold that men once dug in our river bars. But this gold is just as elusive. It, too, must be sought after, sweated over, and dug out before it can be minted into the hard coin of heritage.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY PERIODICALS — PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

By Bertha L. Heilbron*

For one who has been associated with a historical society periodical over more than four decades, the question "Does it have a future?" raised as the theme of this session is a bit disconcerting. That there is a future, and a bright one, for historical society magazines seems to me to go without saying. Doubters, I should think, need only look to the centennial and other anniversary celebrations that are looming on the horizon of the 1960's to find convincing evidence that historical society editors are not likely to run out of copy in the immediate future. And they need only compare some recent issues of state historical magazines with examples from the 1920's and 1930's to be convinced that such periodicals have improved greatly in appearance, readability, and audience appeal — qualities which assure a future not only for the magazines themselves, but for the organizations which publish them and use them as inducements to membership.

A glance at some of the early magazines issued by state societies leaves one with the impression that they were singularly uninspired, both as to content and format. It is surprising, in fact, that they had sufficient vitality to survive at all. One would hardly expect to be fascinated by the *Circular Letter* issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society as early as 1791, or by articles in the pioneer volume of *Memoirs* published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1826. By 1877 the Pennsylvania organization had established its own *Magazine of History and Biography*, which, now in its eighty-fourth volume, is still a leading example of the solid, conservative historical quarterlies that are geared in large measure to appeal to scholars.

Today, however, I am going to comment chiefly on the Midwest quarterlies with which I am most familiar. (Perhaps I should ask you to bear with me if I draw too many of my examples from *Minnesota History*, the

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magazine that has been my own center of interest for so many years.) It was in the Midwest that men like Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Solon J. Buck, and Milo M. Quaife — pioneering editors all — inaugurated and promoted a publication program that has resulted in historical quarterlies as most of us know them today.

One of the earliest in the Midwest — the *Ohio Historical Quarterly* — began publication on the centennial of the Ordinance of 1787. Shortly after the turn of the century, in 1903, the quarterly now issued by William J. Petersen — the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS — was founded by Professor Shambaugh; and before the first decade of the new century came to a close, in 1905 and 1908, Indiana and Illinois had established periodicals. Historical publication activity next moved westward into Minnesota, where Solon J. Buck inaugurated what was originally known as the *Minnesota History Bulletin* in 1915. Two years later Wisconsin and Michigan followed the Minnesota example.

Statements about purposes and plans were included in some quarterlies when they first appeared. Most of these pioneer journals were intended to supplement earlier series of *Collections*, and they were designed for members of the societies which issued them. In content they usually followed a set pattern, composed as they were largely of papers prepared for meetings, reports on such sessions, occasional documents, obituaries accompanied by portraits of deceased celebrities, book reviews often evaluating the *Transactions* or *Proceedings* of other societies, lists of members and donors, and news notes. The latter might deal with the society's activities, and sometimes they even announced promotions in university history departments. The implication is, of course, that the membership rolls of these early twentieth century societies were composed largely of professional historians.

Nevertheless, in the first number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Dr. Quaife expressed the hope that the new magazine would appeal to what he called "ordinary" readers among the society's members, noting that "scholars have plenty of historical reviews, but no publication meets the needs" of those outside the historical profession. Thus Quaife demonstrated an awareness of the wider audience for which so many journals of our own day are designed. Following Wisconsin's lead, Nebraska in 1918 began to issue a monthly which was intended as a "piece of popular literature, as distinguished from academic."

The pioneer historical quarterlies had certain physical characteristics in

common which, like their contents, limited their audience appeal. Most of them were drab in appearance, poorly designed, and badly printed. Unattractive type faces, uneven press work, and ugly margins are among the limitations that must have repelled the average reader. In format the early historical journals were amateurish publications designed by novices who all too frequently employed commercial printers totally lacking in the experience and equipment required for book and magazine production.

Actually, the periodicals that were offered as inducements for historical society membership in the first few decades of the present century were little more than house organs — publications designed to appeal to a small and limited group. Some of their special membership functions have been assumed by monthly news sheets in many states today — among them Iowa and Minnesota.

With all their limitations, however, these pioneering periodicals put into print scores of articles, papers, and documents that will long be useful to scholars and writers. In most instances, these contributions can be located through annual, and sometimes consolidated indexes. The ability to compile a good index is a skill needed by every editor. Such work, as we all know, presents special problems. Care notwithstanding, printed indexes sometimes are marred by startling entries. For example, one of the very first index entries in a history of a certain western state informs the startled user that "all were drunk, including children." And some of you may have heard of the entry under B, doubtless inserted in the index of a recent medical work by a wag who was bored with proofreading. It reads, "Birds, for the," and it is followed by the inclusive pages of the bulky tome.

Fortunate is the historical society that can afford to issue consolidations of the indexes to its quarterly at more or less regular intervals — say, once in a decade, as is true of Wisconsin. The Minnesota Historical Society made a valiant beginning by publishing a consolidated index for ten volumes issued between 1915 and 1929. Regrettably, the society has been unable to continue the practice, for both its staff and its financial resources are insufficient for that purpose. By present estimates it would cost some twenty-five thousand dollars to combine the indexes issued regularly for the last twenty-six volumes. In relation to the size of the consulting audience, this sum seems altogether too large to be practical, though some would condemn the society for failing to put its slender resources to such use. Costs notwithstanding, a number of excellent consolidations are available — notably

a *Cumulative Index* for volumes 1 to 40 of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, issued in parts from 1944 to 1946, and a combined index for volumes 26 through 50 of the Indiana magazine. The latter, incidentally, was financed by the Lilly Endowment, and it sold for five dollars. Contrast this figure with the price of sixty-five dollars charged for an index for volumes 1 to 75 of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. I, for one, would like to know whether enough copies were sold to cover the cost of editing and printing this formidable work.

Turning now to the contemporary scene, we are all aware that state and regional historical publications have been marked by some drastic changes since the 1920's. They fall under two main headings — content and format.

Few Midwest historical journals of our own day are cluttered with annual reports, accounts of meetings, lists of members and donors, and similar items. Some stress specialties — Illinois has a strong Lincoln flavor (as we might well expect); Indiana features medical history; Iowa has been issuing a notable series of documents relating largely to the Civil War; Minnesota at intervals has devoted more than the ordinary amount of space to exploration, immigration, and pictorial history. On the basis of personal experience, I will hazard the guess that such specialties reflect the interests of individual editors. The periodicals mentioned, as well as many others, confine themselves largely to the histories of their own states or immediate areas, with numerous articles geared to appeal to an audience which includes both laymen and professional historians. Some historical society quarterlies, however, step far beyond state and even regional bounds. *Montana*, which began only a decade ago with a magazine "designed to preserve, to publish, and to promote interest in the history of Montana," has expanded its subject matter until it now claims to be the "most widely read journal of authentic old West Americana in existence." And Wisconsin has gone even farther afield. Although many of its articles deal with local subjects, often in reminiscent form, the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* devoted the bulk of a recent issue to a "Soviet View of the American Past," and it has reviewed books on such far-flung topics as "Modern Europe in World Perspective," "Tsarist Russia and Balkan Nationalism," and even the "Dead Sea Scrolls," while frequently disregarding substantial contributions to the history of its own Midwest.

Although many state historical journals include occasional unannotated articles, most of them still furnish footnotes for scholars and students. The

right to know where an author obtained his material still demands consideration, even in an age of popularization. Readers who are exposed to annotated articles in issue after issue may well come after a time to agree with Andre Maurois, who once confessed: "There was a time when I was afraid of footnotes. I thought they made reading less pleasant. I have found since that not only do they *not* hamper the reader — but, if they are properly printed, they reassure him."

And that expression, "properly printed," brings us to the whole subject of format, which, like content, represents the attempt of contemporary state historical journals to reach out beyond academic and antiquarian circles. The designs of some modern state magazines reflect in a striking manner the strides made in the last three decades in the techniques of printing. What, to the average editor, was once merely a medium of communication, has developed over the years into an art that commands the respect both of scholars and of readers who are looking for entertainment. Doubtless influenced by such national periodicals as *Life*, historical editors have turned to pictures to help tell their stories, and they have substituted magazine format with its larger page size, double columns, and skillful use of white space for the book format of the earlier journals.

The process of change has been gradual. The quarterly I edit went through a long series of minor transformations before adopting its present illustrated format in 1952. Its cover alone was redesigned no fewer than seven times between 1915 and 1948, and the page design also was subjected to various improvements. The modest *Bulletin* inaugurated by Dr. Buck was improved steadily until its typography received national recognition in 1950, when an issue was selected for the first magazine show held under the auspices of the American Institute of Graphic Arts. From 562 entries submitted, the Minnesota magazine was among seventy-one chosen for this national display, and it was one of six scholarly and intellectual journals that received certificates of excellence for their designs. Only one other state historical quarterly — the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* — was included in that small group. Those responsible for the Minnesota journal feel that the changes in its format represent an evolutionary process beneficial alike to the magazine, its authors, and its readers.

The use of pictorial sources was not new when Minnesota switched to its present illustrated design. The very first issue of the *Wisconsin Maga-*

zine of History displayed some portraits of authors; inserted illustrations on contrasting stock had long been used by quarterlies that employed the book format. From its very first issue, published in 1949, *American Heritage* had been pointing the way for state periodicals interested in exploiting a visual approach. Editors were at last beginning to realize that as a research tool, pictures supplement printed and manuscript records; that they can be interpreted by each individual reader, be he scholar or schoolboy; and that as a source they cannot be surpassed for truthfulness and accuracy. In employing such materials, researchers, authors, and editors have merely scratched the surface. Only token use, for example, has been made of well over half a million paintings, prints, photographs, and other visual records of Minnesota scenes and people of yesterday and today in the Minnesota Historical Society's picture collection. With simplified methods, the cost of reproducing pictorial material — both black and white and colored — is rapidly dwindling, putting lavish illustration within the reach of many an editor with a limited budget. A good example of its usefulness in exploiting a sidelight on local history that could not have been handled adequately in words alone is a section on log cabin construction by a professional photographer in the June, 1960, issue of *Minnesota History*.

What effect — if any — have changing content and format had on the circulation of state historical quarterlies and the membership rolls of the societies which publish them?

One of the most elaborately illustrated state journals — *Montana* — though only ten years old, can boast a circulation of 15,000. The State Historical Society of Missouri, on the other hand, serves a membership of more than 11,000, though its *Review* is one of the most conservative issued in the Midwest. The more progressive *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis has a circulation of 4,300. The quarterly IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS has about 6,500 readers, and its popular monthly *Palimpsest* is normally issued in an edition of about 7,500 copies. The Louisiana Historical Association, though seventy years old, established a new quarterly last January with about 700 subscribers. Another newcomer among state periodicals is *Idaho Yesterdays*; it is now in its fourth volume with a circulation of 563. Michigan and Ohio distribute about 1,500 copies of their quarterlies; circulation figures for Nebraska, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Minnesota run between 2,500 and slightly over 3,000. It might be worth noting that the Minnesota Historical Society had 347 mem-

bers when its quarterly was established in 1915, and that its circulation has increased almost ninefold.

What of the future? No one can know with certainty what it will bring. But the temptation to make a few suggestions — and predictions — is too great to resist. Personally, I feel that the illustrated magazine format is here to stay for a long, long time, and that it will continue to gain recruits in states that still employ book formats. I believe that as the cost of color reproduction drops, more and more periodicals of small circulation will use it. I doubt that any of our state historical journals will run out of copy relating to their own areas in the foreseeable future. The collecting programs of our manuscripts curators alone will long continue to furnish material for graduate students and others who have the time and energy to exploit new themes or re-examine old ones.

Before closing I want to suggest that historical organizations — national, state, and local — throughout the country share today a common need for editors — a need that can be filled only by way of a highly specialized training course. Such a course would go far beyond the schools of journalism and the departments of history and rhetoric and English and American Studies that we now comb hopefully when looking for qualified personnel. Few who have not been involved in historical publications work have any conception of the varied talents and skills it demands. We are expected to be historians — accuracy is our watchword, and we must know how to bolster our facts with footnotes. We must be bibliographers of sorts, familiar with the sources, published and unpublished. We must be aware not only of past publications relating to our special area, but we must know what projects are under way, what is new, and what needs to be done in the future. We must be able not only to find qualified authors and to judge the products of their research and their pens, but we must exhibit the talents of the diplomat in dealing with them. All of us, I am sure, have encountered enraged authors who objected to any tampering with their prose, to say nothing of questioning their so-called facts. Few of us, perhaps, have been placed in the position of the editor of the *London Times* who once received a letter from George Bernard Shaw demanding the immediate discharge of a “busybody” on the newspaper staff because he devoted a “lot of his time to chasing split infinitives.” “It is of no consequence,” wrote Shaw, “whether he decides to go quickly — or quickly to go — or to quickly go. The important thing is that he should go at once.”

Fortunately, few contributors to historical quarterlies are in a position to make such drastic demands, though I'm sure I could name some who would take delight in following Shaw's example by asking my director to dispense with my services.

Returning to the historical editor's qualifications — we must be alert "word-watchers," to borrow a term from a recent article on English usage. And we must keep abreast of the latest developments in typography, know type faces, be familiar with pictorial resources in our special areas, understand methods of illustrative reproduction, and discover printers and engravers whose prices will enable us to stay within limited budgets.

Right here is where the American Association for State and Local History could lend a helping hand. Would it be outside the functions of the association to establish a training course for editors? Rather than a graduate course in some university department of history or journalism, I have in mind an arrangement whereby the expenses of promising prospects would be paid while they worked and received training under successful editors of long experience. Perhaps the association could perform no greater service for the nation's historical organizations.

In conclusion, I want to quote a remark penned by Cyril Connolly, editor of a British periodical called *Horizon* during the trying years of World War II. "Editing a magazine is a form of the good life," he wrote. "It is creating when the world is destroying — being given once a month the opportunity to produce a perfect number and every month failing, and just when despair sets in, being presented with one more chance." It is this conviction that keeps us going when we find a "typo" in a vital spot, when an author complains that his deathless prose has been wrecked, when the printer distorts a layout that we had believed foolproof. To sustain you in your future endeavors, I leave you with Mr. Connolly's thought.

URBAN RENEWAL AND HISTORICAL PRESERVATION

Dr. David W. Knepper*

It is, indeed, an honor to launch this morning's discussion before the assembled custodians of our heritage. My colleagues of the panel should present some most challenging ideas for the ensuing discussion. The value of this symposium will be measured by the ensuing "clash of ideas."

To me, the setting recalls many invaluable lessons in HISTORY — often called the "MOTHER" of Political Science. This revered shrine in which we meet has been immortalized in Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh's *The Old Stone Capitol Remembers*, an intriguing volume published by the then superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1939. I am myself reminded of great scholars who walked this campus — among them this same Benjamin F. Shambaugh under whose tutelage Bill Petersen and I received much inspiration to challenge pedantic lectures and to seek what he called "My More Than University." It was he who gave this great State Historical Society of Iowa much of its early impetus and I am sure that he looks down benignly at the permanent home for the Society which we have dedicated at this meeting.

Our topic of the morning deals with this atomic, jet-powered age and its challenge to us to cope adequately with the changes in living habits and ideas which have taken place and will unfold with amazing rapidity in the next decades. We are especially aware of the development of great urban areas and the forecast of urban explosion (rather than *Fortune* magazine's "sprawl") to a degree that within a few more years much of the population of the United States will live within three giant MEGALOPOLI envisioned by students of "the city." Here in Iowa, I have recently traveled "roads" of 1940 without being out of sight of homes, factories and stores. In Texas, half of us live in 20 standard metropolitan areas and $\frac{3}{4}$ of us are town dwellers. What has this to do with our way of living? New homes and

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shopping centers spring up overnight. Old neighborhoods (some of even less than 20 years existence) are deserted. Decay and deterioration bring slums where once "leading families" dwelt. It is not what our frantic growth is doing to us, but what WE are doing to LIVE with that growth. Business intrudes in residential areas, or a super-highway causes abandonment of a considerable strip of homes. Too often these are moved out a few miles to form cheap rent housing and to create a new slum. SUBURBANITES get away from the city and its taxes BUT want its services. When faced with annexation, or consolidation of existing governments, nostalgic love for "what we've always had" creates an obstacle that confounds the few thinking leaders. The central city has its services to maintain, but less financial support for these services used by SUBURBIA, and expected. Recently heard: "We're not coming back to your town until you've provided more places for the kids to fish and play." Also bemoaned in one "bedroom city" surrounded by "METROPOLIS" was the fact that people from the big city drive through our city to get back to the big city, yet we have to maintain the street — they, of course, use the big city streets to get to work and play.

The American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods, known as ACTION, is a nationwide citizen organization endeavoring to foster preservation, or restoration, of some of the grandeur and glory that once existed. Most large cities have active units of this group stimulating, and often accomplishing, programs of urban renewal. In many cases federal funds have aided in definite refurbishing of old areas and revitalizing them — BUT one can question whether this will be the means of coping with the nigh universal problem "while there is yet time." In notable instances, private citizens have joined together to undertake "renewal" of an old neighborhood with a profit motive. This has proven a real gain in many cases such as the bright modern buildings in Houston's old Courthouse area, now occupied by professional men and small businesses of quality rather than low-grade restaurants and pawnshops. It may challenge our thinking to wonder if citizen movements of this type are not happier, and more economical, means of revival. In Houston, the Harris County Society for Historical Preservation, a group of citizens drawn together to meet the new problems of phenomenal growth, have succeeded in restoring two fine old homes to their one time grace and beauty with the result that other owners of "old" homes have been inspired to maintain, rather than tear down. In a nearby rural area the

restoration of the Varner-Hogg Plantation home has inspired consideration of similar undertakings in rural areas. In some neighborhoods antebellum homes and humble houses of the 1920's have been re-styled, air-conditioned, and equipped with the latest devices for what is called "Modern Living."

As suburbia marches ever outward, reservation of park and recreation sites becomes essential. I have indulged in these few comments to indicate that mere embalming of the glories of the past is hardly respectful to DAME HISTORY. Revitalizing and using things of the past is a much more exciting, intriguing, and intelligent activity. History's bequest should be a constant challenging teacher to a People — to use the heritage well and avoid regrettable errors of the past. We cannot forego reference to Colonial Williamsburg where the restorations prove not only interesting but attract families to live in the restored homes of the past. Most communities cannot draw upon Rockefeller multi-millions, but in our several communities we can readily see the potentialities of a landmark and work together in restoration of a potentially comfortable and livable dwelling-place. Certainly, such restorations excel the multitude of newer subdivision cottages which resemble each other and recall Kipling's "every bloomin' campin' ground exactly like the last." It becomes necessary for the owner to acquire a unique mailbox or porch light to recognize his house from its neighbors. I have in mind a rather drab cottage, purchased by a young businessman, restored and re-aligned to provide a most charming and livable home for a fine 1960 family.

My colleagues represent two most interesting related fields of endeavor in this move to meet the challenge of the age. LISTEN well and be prepared to disagree — or agree. Let us recall that Solon, the Greek, admonished his mournful Athenian brethren that "If Athens falls, it will not be the act of ZEUS, but the stupidity and greed of the Athenians." Shall we proceed to seek a vital role for the HISTORIC in these challenging times?

PANEL COMMENT ON "THE BATTLE OF THE BULK"

*By Lucile M. Kane**

It is heartening to take respite from the Minnesota battlefield to confer with generals who are winning the war in their sectors. The strategy they and other members of the profession have devised indicates that our encounter with the enemy may result not in defeat or a stalemate, but in an attack powered by courageous thinking.

In summary, the battle of the bulk has been launched on three fronts of collecting, processing, and staffing.

Our speakers have made it clear that bulk has not made them limit collecting to narrow geographic areas or time periods. On the contrary, their scope is broader than ever before. We cannot but applaud this concept of dynamic expansion. Despite the overwhelming burden it brings to the repository that must furnish the material resources to implement the policy, collectors cannot with conscience abdicate their responsibility for documentation in their chosen fields. They must strengthen the sources in older research areas, as well as follow scholars into newer fields such as science, law, social welfare, and technology. And, though rooted in the present, they must build collections that will be arsenals of new ideas for scholars of the future.

Dynamic expansion readily appeals to most collectors. By nature they are conservators, acquirers, builders. But the battle of the bulk, as we have seen today, emphasizes a second facet of collecting that is less enchanting than the first. The policy must be realistic. More and more, as the campaign has progressed, collectors have exerted efforts to be selective. Out of their studies have come several forward steps: A more critical appraisal of materials before they are accepted. Reduction of collections accepted to the maximum degree commensurate with the nature of the papers. And a considered sacrifice of minutia that, as an historian once stated, lead us to desert the highways for the byways, and the byways for the blind alleys.

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Collectors of yesterday fearlessly accepted records of ongoing business organizations, and preserved them down to the last bill of lading. They accepted papers of tiny cultural associations, such as the Thursday afternoon musicale. Now they ask searching questions, such as: Can we afford to be the archive of a particular business? Is it the just role of a repository to be a community library? What portion of the collection is essential for preservation? Or, what is lost to scholarship if these records are not kept?

Margaret Scriven a few years ago wrote a witty and understanding article that startled, then pleased the profession. It is titled: THEY'D NONE OF EM BE MISSED, and bears the alarming subtitle: MAYBE A GOOD FIRE MIGHT HELP A LOT OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS. Among the types of papers she discusses are THE LARGE COLLECTIONS. "We all like them," she wrote, "because they can picture a whole era in business, in politics, in the arts. I have in mind the papers of a Chicago man who was prominent in real estate affairs. He never lost interest in the small college he had attended, and was politician enough to become United States Consul to Ghent. There are good things in the collection. There are — WERE — also two or three thousand pieces that read like this: 'The sink in 412 leaks. Can you fix it. The light was out in the foyer last night.' Others concern plastering, painting, and garbage collection; requests for estimates of roofing materials and screens; hundreds of rent receipts and water receipts, month after month. I am happy to report that most of these are no more."

Her conclusions most of us would endorse. "The whole point of it is," she wrote, "that I think we are inclined to make a fetish of the handwritten word and the official document; that we read into manuscripts, because they are manuscripts, importance that is not inevitably there; and that the exercise of a little judgment, a respect for space, and a sympathy with the user, who already complains that more than half his time is wasted, would reduce our collections to a leaner and healthier state."

There is a third facet to collecting that most of us accept in theory and hopefully promote from year to year. The profession informally endorses an enlightened policy of cooperating with one another for an equitable placement of collections. All of us know how difficult it is to act on our subscription to this ideal. Collecting areas overlap, collections do not come in neat units with convenient limitations, institutional pride and the allegiance of donors must be honored, and our expansionist principles warn us

against giving away our tomorrows today. Yet, progress there has been. Though we are far from ready to sign compacts, and probably never will be, we are advancing toward a national view. In furnishing one another with leads, in exchanging collections, and in recognizing claims to materials that are superior to our own, we are leavening the purely acquisitive instinct.

There will always be competition for fine materials, particularly with the development of collections devoted to special subjects. But papers of lesser importance are a different matter. Solon J. Buck, commenting on problems of bulk and competition among institutions, may have made an apt prediction when he stated to a group of us ten years ago: "The time may come when you will ask one another for help in seeing that records are preserved rather than quibbling over which institution will have the privilege of doing it." I confess that it is with considerable pleasure that I now call our new and thriving archives at the University of Minnesota to tell them about papers of professors and administrators we have located. And yearly we receive from the University manuscripts outside its field, as well as assistance in securing collections we prize.

Our speakers have detailed the amazing advances recently made on the processing front. Undoubtedly the greatest time savers that have been adopted are the retention of original filing systems and the concession that we cannot refine organization down to the last digit. Some scholars complain, particularly when they are using a collection laterally for the study of a period. Too, editors checking footnotes from scanty citations raise critical eyebrows when they seek out a particular document. But Josephine Harper has stated the proposition fairly when she claims that most users would rather suffer a few inconveniences than be refused access to a collection because it has not been processed. In many cases, too, the original filing system better preserves the relationship of documents than slavish devotion to the chronological arrangement. Many an important subject matter file has been dispersed through the compulsion of processors to place every manuscript in its proper chronological niche.

Experience with massive collections has made catalogers more adaptable. Pressed by time, they analyze more carefully the potential use of papers before they decide on the intensiveness with which they will catalog them. A cataloger may write a very brief description of a set of business records with probable use limited to a company or industry study. In describing

the papers of an important public man, on the other hand, he may write descriptions isolating units of information by location, and citing individual items of special significance.

Perhaps the front I have left for comment last is the most important, for on staffing depends our ability to wage the war in the other sectors. To collect widely and wisely, to reduce bulk in papers that are accepted, and to provide service to scholars using the burgeoning collections, depositories need far larger staffs of trained personnel than they have.

Edith Fox and Miss Harper have forcefully explained the complexity of modern manuscripts. Decisions on accepting or rejecting collections, or on reducing their bulk cannot be left to persons without subject-matter training, or to harried specialists making judgments on the run. We cannot do less as a profession than to state and restate the problem until it becomes abundantly clear that the battle of the bulk can be won only with a battle-ready army, not with a holding force entrenched to maintain the status quo.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AMANA

*By Dr. Henry G. Moershel**

Dr. Petersen, Honored Members of the American Historical Association for State and Local History, Guests, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure and an honor for the Amanas to have you with us today. We are truly delighted with your visit here. We wish to extend to you a most hearty welcome, in which the weather even seems to join us in offering you a rather warm reception.

The history of the Amanas is the story of a faith which had its origin in southwestern Germany in 1714 through the efforts of two men — Johann Friedrich Rock and Everhard Ludwig Gruber. Both were connected with the church. Johann Rock's father was a Lutheran minister, while Eberhard Gruber himself was a Lutheran clergyman. These two men firmly believed that God could and would reveal his wishes to man by messages transmitted through inspired persons or prophets as in biblical days. Thus originated the name which was adopted in later years — The Community of True Inspiration.

Rock and Gruber soon had many followers. They experienced considerable persecution, however, and even sustained personal injuries by being whipped, beaten and stoned, all because of their doctrines and teachings which were both new and unorthodox. For instance, they did not think it proper to take an oath, and they believed in spiritual baptism and not in baptism with water. The latter dogma proved rather eventful for one of my forefathers, for when it became known that a baby had been born in his home, he was ordered by the local officials representing the clergy to have the baby baptized. Steadfastly loyal in his belief, he refused to comply and he was then fined a certain sum of money which he paid. In due time baptism was again demanded for the baby, and when the father declined and claimed that he had already paid his fine, he was placed in the local jail. While he was detained in this manner, a squad of soldiers with a clergyman were sent to the home and the baby was baptized without any regard for the wishes of the parents.

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This new sect also desired its own school system and was opposed to sending its children to state-controlled schools. In addition to all this, they refused to bear arms and became classified as conscientious objectors which, of course, did not go over too well in a country almost constantly torn by war. In fact, for one of my forefathers, such a claim proved all in vain. He was, unfortunately for him, six feet and six inches tall, and as King Frederick of Prussia was at that time constantly looking for men over six feet in height to place in his royal bodyguard, this forefather of mine was kidnapped by the King's agents one stormy night and taken to the King's barracks near Berlin and inducted into the royal bodyguard. He served in this regiment for a number of years, taking part in several military campaigns.

One day, while several companies of the regiment were swimming in a large river, he succeeded in escaping. As he was a powerful swimmer, he dove in and began swimming under water upstream. In some way he skillfully managed to surface for air at intervals without being detected. Finally, he reached a place which seemed like a good hiding place and there he remained in the water for the rest of the day. In the meantime, his companions missed him and began looking for him downstream, believing him drowned. As darkness approached, he left the river and made his way to a nearby wheatfield where he had previously concealed some civilian clothes, which he recovered, aided by dim moonlight.

Then began the hazardous journey home, at first traveling only at night. Once beyond the borders of Prussia, he felt relatively safe. However, he was not certain to what extent the King's agents had been alerted about him. In this manner he escaped, or shall we say, deserted from the Prussian army, and returned to his community in Hesse and, as he held the position of "Buergermeister" or mayor there, he was able to see to it that he had some sort of a bodyguard for himself after that. Had he been captured by the Prussians, it would have meant certain death by execution, and therefore it is obvious that he experienced many tense and anxious moments during his flight, which all served to strengthen his faith in grateful recognition of the Divine help and merciful protection which he had received. This is but one of many incidents which affected a few of my forefathers.

Rock and Gruber were quite active in southwestern Germany, France, and Switzerland. However, Gruber passed away in 1728 and Rock in 1749.

With their deaths the word and the power of the Inspiration was lost to the group and the members were satisfied with reading the testimonials which were the inspired messages left to them by their former leaders. At no time during their sojourn in Europe was there any communistic or communal living among these "Separatists" as they were known. The more wealthy members of the group endeavored to provide in some way for the less fortunate ones.

Without any definite active leadership, the faith suffered a gradual decline up to 1817 when Michael Krausert became inspired and created a revival. This work was taken up by Christian Metz and by Barbara Heine-mann. They, too, suffered considerable persecution and oppression and they therefore gathered their followers in large groups, renting good-sized estates where they resided as communities or "Gemeinden" in the Ronneburg, at Marienborn, Herrnhaag, Arnsburg and Engelthal, all located in the tolerant province of Hesse. Of these various places, the Ronneburg was the most famous. The historical records of the Amana faith state that the Moershel family resided at the Ronneburg in 1753 and the records of the Ronneburg mention the Moershel name at a much earlier date. It was in this vicinity that the Amana ancestors lived and worked and worshipped. Here they weathered the war years of the Napoleonic era and the French invasion. The retreating French troops were wicked and stole much property. However, the Russians, who were supposed to be the allies of the Germans and the English, were even more demanding and inconsiderate. Thus the "Inspirationists," as they were also known, felt the impact and the suffering of war like the rest of the populace.

As the years went by, the rents for these estates were consistently raised and by and by became so exorbitant that the necessity of moving away had to be considered. The first indication of such a possibility was found in the inspired word of Metz in 1827, and again in 1840 the prophecy was renewed and it grew into a reality in 1842 when a committee consisting of Metz, Noe, Ackermann, and Weber, with his young son, were sent to America. They reached New York on October the 26th, 1842, after a stormy, 40-day trip. From New York they journeyed to Albany and from there on the Erie Canal by barge to Buffalo. The trip on this boat was far from being pleasant, as they were lodged with a group of seven Irishmen and two Americans in a small 7 x 10-foot cabin. It would have been less annoying if they could have passed some of the time on deck. However, it

rained every day which necessitated their remaining in the over-crowded cabin almost constantly for one terrible, aggravating week.

After reaching Buffalo their agent took them to the Seneca Indian Reservation nearby where eventually a purchase of 5,000 acres of land was negotiated. Unfortunately, they experienced considerable difficulty with the Indians who were rather reluctant to leave, and for awhile were under the impression that these newly-arrived Germans were building houses for them. Not only were the Indians unfriendly but they stole everything they could lay their hands on. Finally, after three years of negotiations, and assisted by the government, these colonists were able to establish their communities known as Middle Ebenezer, Upper Ebenezer, Lower Ebenezer, New Ebenezer, and two communities in Canada — Canada Ebenezer and Kenneberg.

After a short while it was found that, as Buffalo was growing rapidly, it would again be necessary to move. After much prayer the Inspirationists were counseled to seek a home in the west. Accordingly, in 1854 Christian Metz, with a committee of three others, went to Kansas. This trip was rather disappointing and almost disastrous, as the members of the committee became seriously ill, but they finally returned to Ebenezer late in 1854. Their mission had been a failure. Then another committee consisting of Wittmer and Meyer journeyed to Iowa and these men were very much impressed with the terrain here. They returned to Ebenezer, and because of their favorable report of what they had seen here, the colonists decided on giving up their Ebenezer homes and moving to Iowa. Amana was the first village to be erected in 1855. Then followed West Amana, South Amana, High Amana, East Amana, then Middle Amana, and later on Homestead was purchased because of the train service which at that time had reached Iowa City. Previously, everything had to be hauled overland from Muscatine by ox team which required several days for one trip.

Christian Metz was a very able leader. Although a carpenter by trade, he was quite efficient in organizing and managing the group in their communistic or communal system, which had been introduced in Ebenezer and which continued to be maintained in Iowa up to 1932.

In search of water power for their woolen mills and flour mills, a canal about six miles in length was dug virtually by hand and ox and horse power, conveying the water from the Iowa River to the various mills. These seven Amana villages are scattered over the 26,000 acres of land in

a circle-like arrangement, five villages being on the north side of the river, and two villages on the south side. The timberland furnished building material and firewood. Industries were introduced, but each village was practically self supporting. Each had its own bakery, slaughterhouse, ice house, village store, its farm department, its various shops like blacksmith shop, wagonmaker shop, harness shop, etc. The food was prepared in a number of community kitchens, and each village had a number of church buildings. Life in general was leisurely, pleasant, and "gemutlich" in one respect and quite strict in other ways, especially in regard to church attendance.

I still remember the days when we had eleven church services each week, now usually only one or two, but they have so far retained their original form since 1714, the women wearing the same style of dresses to the church, including a black cap, neckerchief or "Halstuch" and an apron. The services are in German. However, English services are being contemplated as a necessity in the near future. There is no organ music or musical accompaniment. The "Vorsaenger," or a song leader, leads the singing of the hymns which are found in the German hymn book, known as the "Psalter-Spiel." Such books consist of 1169 hymns, some of which contain only a few verses. One hymn dedicated to the 119th Psalm, the longest in the Bible, contains 88 verses. The hymns have been composed by some 233 known authors. There are a few over 300 tunes or melodies which may be employed for the singing of these hymns.

Our communion services are held every two years. Formerly they were quite lengthy and all day affairs. The wine which was served was the very best which the community winery had to offer. Usually one large goblet was served to two persons, and each person received one or more slices of bread.

The words "Ebenezer" and "Amana" are biblical names, Ebenezer taken from the first book of Samuel, chapter four, verse one, and also in chapter seven, and means "Hitherto the Lord has helped us." Amana means "remain true" and it is found in the Song of Solomon, chapter four, verse eight. It is up to the Amanas now to follow the meaning of Amana to "remain true."

We realize that inroads have been made and changes are gradually taking place and that problems from within and without have to be met. Some of these facts will be discussed by my associate, Martin Dickel.

I thank you for your patience and for your interest.

COMMUNAL LIFE IN AMANA

*By Martin Dickel**

May I address you as Brothers and Sisters because that is the form and address we use and one of the tenets of our faith is that we are not only held together in the name of the faith and in the dedication to our faith but also that as we love God we should love each other and as such we should be brothers and sisters not only in the spirit but also as we live our daily lives in word and deed.

As I read your program and find out that my address is to touch on the communal part of Amana life, I must say the same thing I said when interviewed on the Dave Garroway show at the time Khrushchev was in Des Moines. When asked to draw a parallel between the two states of society, I said that the Amana type of communism, in its birth, in its intent, and in its implementation, was as far away from the Russian political communism as the village of Amana is from Moscow. In fact, communism, as we know it today, in its meaning and application, did not exist in Amana. The communal ownership of the property was really an expedient used to solve an economic problem rather than a basic doctrine as a part of the faith.

Dr. Moershel's ancestral family, and there were several others whose descendants are still a part of Amana today, were members of the faith from the very beginning. Some of these families were well-to-do in the mid-nineteenth century and when the group determined to migrate to America these wealthier families contributed all their financial resources to finance the voyage across the ocean for the poorer members of the group. In this group we find merchants and peasants, textile workers, candlestick makers, cobblers, carpenters, and all the many trades and crafts forming a part of the economy of the middle nineteenth century.

The Rhineland stood at the forefront in the Industrial Revolution and was subject to rapid change; the region was, perhaps, a leader in that change. The scourge of militarism loomed threateningly on the horizon and was influencing the development of the political and social structure.

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This meant persecution and trouble for all religions actively opposed to militarism. It is not surprising, therefore, that the followers of Christian Metz, being opposed to militarism and all it stood for, soon felt its heavy hand and the sting of the lash. That is one of the main reasons why they decided to emigrate to America. After some years of deliberation the decision to emigrate was made in 1840. The road of the "Inspirationists" led westward over the waters to America — the land of the free.

The "Inspirationists" settled near Buffalo, New York, where they founded the Ebenezer villages. Soon we see the spirit and mind of the individual assert itself. As the land was cultivated, the herds grew, and houses and small factories were built at first under a financial pooling system. The question now arose — who has title to this land, the houses, the cattle, and this increment? With varying skills and naturally varying ambition and love, or shall we say distaste, for work, how shall we share and how shall we enjoy the fruits of our labors? Brother Christian Metz saw that this issue would split the group if it was not settled at once, as similar problems had faced so many other communities similar to Amana. Accordingly, he spoke to his faithful followers as follows:

We have been directed here by our God who has protected us from harm. He will continue to lead us if we but remain faithful. We dare not go any other way. The church is the servant of God through which He gives his grace and blessing. Should not we give our all to Him by giving our all to the church? He who serveth his church serveth God, may it be with the labor of his hands, his mind or his soul or by surrender of his worldly goods. So all shall belong to the church and the church shall provide for all. Anyone who does not care for this may leave and those who wish to remain shall accept my word.

There was no formal decree, no formal contract or documentation and of course no provision for any changes in the future in this arrangement. And so it remained from that time on until the year 1932 when the change was made to a cooperative type of society dividing the economic and the church phase into two distinct societies governed by different people. At the time of the change, descendants of the contributors to the original community fund were given back their original amount without interest.

It might be of interest to place the Amana individual and the Amana family in proper perspective to the group. The individual had the right to leave the group. He had some leeway in choosing his work as such work

was available and fitted his skills. He was given an education, learning to read and write. He had a right to choose his own mate. The family was a unit and lived in the home made available and ate at home as a unit. The man of the household in the German tradition was the master of the household and wife and children were expected to obey. It may be pointed out that parents were held responsible for the behavior of their children and more often than not the parents were called to task for any misbehavior of their children. One wonders if this philosophy might not be very well applied today.

During the years the inspired Amana leaders — Christian Metz and Barbara Heinemann Landman — lived in Iowa, many important decisions were made and policies formulated by them with the help of the other Elders of the Church. After their death the council of Elders became the sole ruling body. Each village had a group of Elders to conduct the church services and from this group a council of 5 to 7 of the senior Elders formed the governing body. They met once a week and by resolution guided the church and economic affairs of the village. From the total group of Elders of all villages a Supreme Council of Trustees was elected by the entire church membership to rule over the entire organization. Such elections were not held in the American style of politics as we know it. The council succeeded itself by renominating itself without opposition and all vacancies were similarly filled by nominations made by the presiding Council of Trustees. This tended to create a succession along family lines and at the top level. One may see the inroads of a caste system which weakened the general esprit de corps.

The Amana group was bound closely together, not alone in its singular religious faith, but also by race, language, and traditional background. This solidarity was kept intact through the years by certain church regulations regarding the institution of marriage. No one could marry someone from outside the members of the faith, which restricted marriages to within the group. The inherent dangers of intermarriage within a small group were recognized and avoided. Thus, church regulations prohibited intermarriage even at the second cousin level. The man had to be 20 and the young woman 19 before they could announce their intent or wish to be married. The Elders would then fix the marriage date about a year away from the posting of the wedding bans. By design this was a good way to avoid hasty marriages and marriage by those still too young and immature.

The wedding ceremony was simple — no wedding ring or flowers were permitted. After the quiet ceremony, there was a gala affair, with friends and villagers taking part. Everybody brought a cake! The parents would make sure that the group singing should not lack in force and volume by making available an ample supply of homemade wine.

Divorce was not permitted and in the few cases where it occurred, one of the parties was usually asked to leave the community. There may be a lesson here that I wish to include in my observations. When in youth and in the early stages of married life there was discord and misunderstanding where a break might be the easy way out, it was not possible to do this without breaking all ties with the community and going away. Under Amana regulations, this was not possible so we see the same two continue to live as man and wife, raise a family and go through life, learning to understand, to love, to serve, and not having a chance to run away from each other and from life. They found out the years teach much which the day does not know.

Education and Opportunity

Amana provided an elementary school education for all up to the age of 14 years. Schools and curriculum were under the State Department of Public Instruction. In addition, the children were taught the German language and grammar, and the catechism and principles of our faith. School was on a full year basis, including a shortened session on Saturday mornings. The summer sessions were also shorter in hours and the older boys did not attend but helped in the harvest. The Elders of the church further selected a few to go on to schools of higher education to fill the jobs of doctors, dentists and teachers, but no lawyers. As far as opportunity is concerned, this kind of a group, in its operation, is a drawback to the ambitious. The aforementioned existence of caste barred many able boys from advancement, and for the girls of course there was but one career — the community kitchen, followed by marriage.

A most valuable addition to the formal education of the boy was his compulsory participation in the rotating of certain jobs determined by the Elders in accordance with the available labor supply and the need in the various departments. In the daily routine a boy might have to help on the farm with its many and varied chores, milk cows, help build a house, shingle roofs, whitewash plastered walls, putty windows, and harvest and prepare broom corn, and many others. The young ladies were ably in-

structed in all phases of cooking, baking, and sewing. Again, with a nostalgic feeling, I dare say our present age of specialization has taken many of these opportunities away from us.

It comes as a distinct surprise to many visitors to the Amana villages to find so many of the traditions, customs, colloquialisms, dialecticisms, and use of the German language after more than a hundred years in America. Up to 1910 the isolation of the group, both physically and culturally, no doubt was the main reason for this. One must, however, not underestimate the inborn traits of the people. Remember, it took courage to leave the comparatively comfortable Rhineland of the 1840's and venture forth into the New World with its many unknowns. These people were brave and they firmly placed their trust in God and the leaders in the faith. In pioneering at Ebenezer and later at Amana there was a lot of hard work but good simple foods, restful nights that started early because the kerosene was in short supply, the liberty and freedom of Our American Heritage combined with the skills, the thrift and the industry of the German man and woman, brought success.

The way of life of the individual in this kind of a society varies considerably from that of one in the capitalistic society. Daily routines are different, shadings of thought are different, and likewise one may say desires and dreams are different. Guided and directed by the hand of a strong, able personality like Christian Metz, yes, even by the force and momentum of an idea and faith, this community remained basically the same in its structural organization until 1932. But time, abetted by the instinctive desire of the individual to center around the self, gradually diminished the group spirit and weakened the foundation of brotherly communal coexistence until it became apparent to the members that a change had to be made. The remarkable thing is that this change was made with unanimous consent and approval, without a single legal contest, and with a minimum of hardship to all age groups. The division of the property was based on a payment in stock to all adults in the new corporation based on the years of service rendered. In other words, total appraised value of the land and all communal properties was distributed among total years of service of all adult members and then the shares were given to each member according to his age. A part of the stock could then be exchanged by the individual for the title to his home. All village areas had been platted and appraised and could be transferred with clear title to the individual. In cases of occu-

pancy by more than one family it was necessary for the parties to agree amongst themselves. In looking back it seems very remarkable that after only two years this phase of the distribution was almost complete without creating any great ill will and bad feeling. The reorganization was accomplished at a rather fortuitous time. Our nation was at the lowest point of the great depression and all appraisals and values were extremely conservative. The new economy of the villages, starting at the bottom, had only one way to go and that was up.

One weakness that may be an inherent part of a communistic type of social order was plainly apparent in Amana before the changeover was made. Without the incentive and personal gain motive, without the zealous devotion of the soul, without the use of authoritative force, the individual does not do the job as it should be done. In this community we had the drones, the non-workers, and their numbers seemed to be on the increase. As much as we admire the acquired skills of the candlestick maker, the cooper, the basket weaver, the old fashioned cobbler or the one-man-shop bookbinder, we found out that they would no longer provide for bread and butter for the family in the 20th century economy. We still had people not so gainfully employed in these vocations in the year 1931. These jobs, as a breadwinner, disappeared overnight in April 1932.

Health and Recreation

From the beginning of this organization we find that our doctors were members and belonged to the Amana Society. Throughout the years the group has been able to provide adequate medical and dental care.

A total of about 1400 members was served by three or four doctors, and two or three dentists, and two trained pharmacists. In addition, each village had a locally-trained midwife.

Superstitions were of course taboo and sinful so the unusual in bodily care did not enter into the picture. More than one household, however, proclaimed great curative powers for herb teas made from Kamille flowers, roadside flowers, and roots gathered in the forest. Usually this concoction was sweetened with wild honey and flavored with good strong wine made from wild grapes. This brew, heated in a tin cup on a pot-bellied wood-burning stove and served piping hot, will cure most everything — even a broken heart.

Recreation other than group singing was considered sinful and hence forbidden. It may be gathered from the various proclamations that this

area of control was one of the most troublesome and perhaps one of the main reasons for the young to leave the Amana group. Music as entertainment was also proclaimed sinful but it was hard to deny the gay, music loving Rhinelander his moments with his violin or zither. These two soft musical instruments were preferred to the loud volume accordion.

Beginning with the turn of the century, these controls relaxed and some card playing, chess, and checkers helped break the monotony of the evening. The introduction of competitive sports, such as baseball, had rough going and these sports, along with dancing, did not break the control barrier until the late 1920's.

The principles of our faith are firmly opposed to war as an instrument of national policy. In actual application, however, this principle has accommodated itself to the realities of the times throughout the years. In the Civil War and Spanish-American War, for example, a few men volunteered, and later were accepted into the community upon their return.

During World War I all members served as noncombatants under the Selective Service Act, and in World War II the boys served without any reservations both as enlistees, officers, and draftees.

At the time of this meeting some profound changes are going on in all phases of life in Amana. But to one who has been a part of the changing scene under both systems it seems that these changes have so far been able to build on to that which was good of the past and build with that which is the best of the new. The church services are conducted in both the German and English language. The sale of property to people of all creeds and races has so far introduced none that were not readily assimilated. The educational system has been able to grow with the community.

It may be truthfully stated that the communities have the same problems, social, cultural, economic, educational and financial that any other mid-western small town has. We hope that the forces of tradition and pride in the past may help us and guide us in the days to come, that we may live at peace as neighbors, as brothers and sisters, as Americans, as pilgrims of this earth, and above all at peace with ourselves.

FEDERAL INTEREST IN LEGISLATION TO PRESERVE HISTORIC SITES

*By Rogers W. Young**

The bright and promising facets of the Federal Government's interest in the conservation of our historical and archeological heritage did not become the "many splendored thing" of today without the prism undergoing some vigorous polishing along the way. You will be interested to know that in the past 100 years or more the Federal Government has blown hot and has blown cold, but is now warmer in its support of this great endeavor. Perhaps we can decipher certain trends and patterns over the years. At first, in the mid-19th century the Federal Government turned its back on the need for saving the great sites of our history. For example, we find the Congress rejecting the opportunity to save Mount Vernon. By 1864, the Congress was willing to pass a special act to turn the historic Yosemite Valley in California over to the State for preservation, especially so since there were groups in the State desiring to save the Valley. We should note, however, that the Yosemite grant was of national import because, in its object here, Congress first announced the principle and express condition that such Federal land was to be held by the State for public use, resort and recreation and be inalienable for all time.

When we come to the setting aside of the vast scientific and historic reaches of the Yellowstone, there was no state or territory or local groups available to preserve the region and the park's supporters had to turn to a reluctant Congress and the Yellowstone Act of 1872 to protect the area. Certainly, Yellowstone marked the beginning of outright Federal protection in this field. Incidentally, when the Wyoming Territorial Legislature passed acts in 1884 to share control of the Yellowstone with the Federal Government, this was resisted in Washington and the acts rescinded. In the meantime, the second national park, on historic Mackinac Island in Michigan, was created in 1874 under the War Department with the provision that it would eventually be administered by the State and this became a fact when

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national park status was withdrawn. In these early instances we see local interests, business, historical, or scientific, turning to the Federal Government for preservation help, but they did not always get it in the way they expected. Either the responsibility was turned back to local agencies or governmental bodies yet unprepared for such responsibility, or the Federal Government undertook it, but reluctantly and without a concerted national plan.

Vandals and souvenir hunters, exposed by scientists and a few other public-minded citizens of the American Southwest, really pricked awake the conscience of the Federal Government to the beginning of Federal preservation of our antiquities. In 1899, the Congress of the United States first established a Federal archeological reservation by authorizing the President to reserve from the public domain the site of Casa Grande, the remarkable prehistoric ruin in southern Arizona.

About this time, we can trace another turning by local groups to the Federal Government for it to undertake further historical preservation activities. This appeared in another part of the country and for another period of history. Veterans of the Civil War were intimately concerned with the historic battlefields where they had fought. Thirty years after the War they were highly organized and were politically powerful. As a result of their efforts, the first of a substantial number of national military parks was authorized by an act of Congress in 1890. The Chickamauga Battlefield in Georgia and the related battlefield in Chattanooga, Tennessee, were set aside that year and was followed by Shiloh in 1894 and Gettysburg in 1895. The Peterson House in Washington, D. C., where the martyred Lincoln passed away, another landmark of this period of history, was authorized for preservation in 1896, and the scene of the Siege of Vicksburg was also saved by the Federal Government in 1899.

At the urging of local associations and individuals, Congress continued to save isolated military and historic sites through separate pieces of legislation, but on a sporadic basis between 1910 and 1930. Examples of sites preserved in this manner include: Big Hole Battlefield, Montana, the scene of Chief Joseph's final Indian resistance to white expansion in the West, established in 1910; the site of the explorer Cabrillo's landfall in 1542 in San Diego Bay, established in 1913; the Revolutionary battlefield at Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina, established in 1917; the landmark on the Oregon Trail at Scotts Bluff in Nebraska, created in 1919; and two

outstanding historic sites in the East in 1930, including the scene of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, first known as Colonial National Monument, and the site of George Washington's Birthplace at Wakefield, Virginia. These actions, we can see, did not provide a general legislative principle of nationwide application, but instead were a series of isolated legislative precedents.

However, this had come about to a limited degree, in the meantime, soon after 1900. Growing consciousness of Federal responsibility for the preservation of ancient sites and structures in the great Southwest finally found expression in the Antiquities Act of 1906. It was the first of three great landmarks of Federal legislation, setting forth the general principle of the Federal Government's responsibility for the preservation of its national historical and archeological treasures. This 1906 Act was to lay the foundation for a program of preservation which continues actively to be of importance today.

By this Act, the President was given general authority to establish national monuments by proclamation on lands owned or controlled by the Federal Government. This was to preserve historic landmarks, historic or prehistoric structures, or other objects of scientific interest thereon for the benefit of the Nation. The Act also laid the basis for the regulations governing archeological or other scientific investigations of antiquities situated on Federal land. Under this authority a number of noteworthy historic and prehistoric areas situated in the Southwest were soon proclaimed national monuments, including El Morro and Gran Quivira in New Mexico, Montezuma Castle, Tumacacori, and Navajo in Arizona.

We must emphasize that the Antiquities Act is limited exclusively to the preservation of antiquities situated on land belonging or donated to the United States. It contains three principal provisions, each concerned with the solving of a part of the preservation problem. The first of these is aimed at relic hunters, vandals, and other unauthorized intruders on the public domain. It provides that any person who shall appropriate, excavate, injure or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the government of the United States, without permission, shall be subject to fine or imprisonment. Experience has shown that this provision is very useful, but in any isolated area it has proved difficult to enforce.

The second principal provision of the Act is directed to providing the

basic legal authority under which exceptionally important areas can be set aside in perpetuity as national monuments. It authorizes the President of the United States to declare, by public proclamation, historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest situated on lands owned or controlled by the United States to be national monuments.

The third principal provision of the Act is designed to provide the basis for regulated access by scientific institutions to archeological sites situated on Federal lands. Since Federal lands are administered by the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, and Defense, the Act authorizing each of these officials to grant permits to qualified institutions for examination of ruins, the excavation of archeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity on lands under their respective jurisdictions.

The Antiquities Act had been in force for only a decade when the National Park Service was created by Act of Congress in 1916. Here we find a second legislative medium for broadening Federal control and administration of archeological and historic sites of national importance. The organic act of 1916, creating the National Park Service, contains the classic expression of the fundamental purposes of the national parks and monuments, which is "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." When this fundamental principle of land use was penned by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., distinguished American landscape architect, it was little realized what an impact would be made upon the preservation of our archeological, historical, and natural resources through the agency of the National Park Service.

The concept of preserving and utilizing park and monument properties only in such manner as would leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations has profoundly influenced the management processes of the National Park System. It has proved a bulwark of strength against hasty and ill-considered development, over-use, and encroachments of all sorts. As a guiding principle for the preservation and use of national historic and prehistoric properties, it stands forth as an unimpeachable ideal.

By 1933 the approximately 80 historical and archeological areas previously acquired by the Federal Government had been placed under the administration of the National Park Service. By 1960, this group has grown

to 97 historical areas and 18 archeological areas preserved by the Federal Government as a part of the National Park System.

By the early 1930's still another turn, and a new pattern, took place in the Federal Government's interest in the conservation of our national historical and archeological heritage. On the one hand, the Historic Sites Act, adopted August 21, 1935, was a general Federal statute authorizing a national preservation program for historic sites not already in Federal ownership. On the other hand, it authorized the Federal Government to turn to states, societies, or individuals for assistance with the preservation of historic sites of national importance.

The new law greatly clarified and emphasized the national policy and granted important new powers, duties, and functions to the Secretary of the Interior to make possible the execution of a broadly-conceived national program of preservation. The statement of policy in the preamble of this Act makes it clear "that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."

The first group of powers provides for the surveys, researches, and investigations necessary to determine the sites and buildings situated throughout the Nation which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States.

A national program to conduct such a survey, originally called the Historic Sites Survey, was undertaken in the period 1937-1941, but was brought to a close by the inception of World War II. Under the MISSION 66 program of the National Park System, the survey was reactivated in 1956 under the title of National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, and has concentrated its efforts largely in the western half of the United States, although the reappraisal of earlier studies in the East has also been undertaken. It is the present plan of the National Park Service to complete the new studies by 1962 and to publish its results for the information and guidance of the public.

Authority was next granted to the Secretary to acquire in the name of the United States for the purpose of the Act, any personal or real property, by gift, purchase, or otherwise. This authority was limited in two ways. First, no property owned by any religious or educational institution, or otherwise owned and administered for public benefit, may be acquired without the consent of the owner. Second, no property of any kind may

be acquired or contracted for, which will obligate the general fund of the Treasury, unless Congress has appropriated money which is available for that purpose. Through its control of appropriations, Congress thus still retains the power to determine the extent of the national preservation program to be developed under the provisions of the Historic Sites Act. Unlike European historical preservation law, the Historic Sites Act does not authorize the Federal Government to take private historical property by right of eminent domain.

Hundreds of historic houses and other similar properties operated for public benefit in the United States are owned and maintained by local governments or societies. Authority was given to the Secretary to turn to these owners in a program of mutual cooperation for preservation purposes. He can contract and make cooperative agreements with states, municipal subdivisions, corporations, and associations or individuals, to protect, preserve, maintain or operate any historic or archeological building, site, or object. This is regardless of whether title is vested in the United States. Such agreements calling for the spending of Federal funds are contingent upon Congress providing the money for the purpose. However, the Secretary is not empowered to enter into cooperative agreements for the preservation of sites and buildings of merely state or local importance, but only for those of national significance.

The Act also established a national advisory group known as the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, composed of not to exceed 11 persons, including representatives competent in the fields of history, archeology, architecture and human geography, all of whom serve without salary. The Board has no administrative responsibilities and is purely advisory to the Secretary of the Interior with regard to questions arising on park and historical preservation matters. However, the Board has taken a leading role in evaluating and classifying those historic and archeologic sites in the United States which are worthy of preservation as a recognized part of our national heritage.

Finally, the Secretary was granted authority to restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, and objects, which are of national importance, provided the Congress has appropriated funds for such purposes.

In the period between the passage of the Historic Sites Act in 1935 and the year 1960, results under this Act in the historical conservation field

have been significant. A total of 11 national historic sites has been designated by the Secretary of the Interior, but continue in the ownership and under the administration of private organizations and agencies. Included in this group are such sites as the portion of Jamestown Island, Virginia, administered by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities; St. Paul's Church, Eastchester, Long Island, New York (associated with Zenger and freedom of the press); San Jose Mission in San Antonio, Texas; McLoughlin House (home of the Hudson Bay Factor), Oregon City, Oregon; the Golden Spike site where the transcontinental railroads met on Promontory Summit in Utah; the Virgin Islands National Historic Site, scene of Danish colonial efforts at Christiansted on St. Croix Island; and Chimney Rock, a landmark on the Old Oregon Trail in western Nebraska. This period also saw the establishment of an equal number of national historic sites in the ownership of the Federal Government. These range from the ancient Spanish fortifications at San Juan, in Puerto Rico, to the recently-designated Minute Man site along the route of the Lexington-Concord Road in Massachusetts.

Besides the designation of these 22 national historic sites and the evaluation of many others, much basic data has been gathered under the provisions of the Historic Sites Act that has been useful to the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government in considering proposed legislation for the establishment of new areas. Policies for the preservation and restoration of historic sites have been formulated and, above all, a better understanding of the historical and archeological resources of the Nation has been realized, particularly as the result of the nationwide survey of historical and archeological sites begun in the period 1937-1941 and reopened in 1956.

Moving to the post-World War II period, we can discern a growing trend for the Federal government to work closer with state and local agencies concerned with historical conservation. Supplementary Federal acts passed in this period permit the Federal Government to turn more and more to state and local agencies for assistance and even to give these agencies certain Federal historical properties for ownership and administration. Certainly, the object of this "give-away" program is one to which nobody should object!

For example, since 1948, the National Park Service has been active in helping states and local communities acquire and administer many sites of

unusual regional historical significance. These were owned by the Federal Government and otherwise may have been left unrecognized as historic sites. This cooperative work has been done under the Act of June 10, 1948. It marked a definite step forward in the recognition by the Federal Government of the desirability of historical conservation on the part of several governmental levels throughout the Nation. It became a new landmark in the field of Federal legislation relating to historic sites conservation.

The Act of 1948 was an amendment and outgrowth of the Surplus Property Act of 1944. The earlier act was intended only as an expedient in the Nation's reconversion from a war to a peace economy, rather than as a permanent procedure for the disposition of surplus Federal property. Congress soon heard outcries against the manner in which the 1944 Act proposed to "sell off," in a callous way, the surplus "Old Fort" sites and military reservations, naval reservations, obsolete lighthouses, and other Federal properties of historical value. Many of these, over a period of more than 100 years, had become community landmarks throughout the Nation, but were no longer needed for their basic purposes. One of the most notable of these old fort properties, saved early after the passage of the 1948 Act, is Fort Wayne in Detroit, Michigan. It was acquired by the City of Detroit and has been developed as a fine historical monument.

Fort Wayne was the subject of an historic and impassioned plea in the Congress by the late Senator Arthur E. Vandenberg, of Michigan, who stated, among other things, that he vigorously opposed the outright sale of old Fort Wayne for commercial use as it "represents one of those sentimental attachments which will not be lightly dismissed by those who attribute appropriate values to patriotic emotions." And he also noted that "communities which have preserved significant historical sites and buildings derive much benefit from them and stimulation of civic pride and national patriotism." Senator Vandenberg urged the Senate to enact a general piece of Federal legislation to preserve these old community landmarks, and urged the Senate not to set a precedent by selling Fort Wayne, as he trusted that "our people will never lose the desire to preserve the historic past as a promise of peace in the future."

In adopting the Act of 1948, the Congress recognized that these old fort structures or other well-known Federal reservations possessed, in greater or lesser degree, definite historical values on either a national, state, or local level. They were recognized as being physical documents exemplify-

ing important phases of the military, economic, social or political development of the Nation as a whole, or of some particular section of it. These areas were seen to constitute a significant reservoir of American historical and archeological resources, the preservation of which, either on a national, state, or local basis should receive the thoughtful consideration of the Nation.

The Act of June 1948 is continued in effect by the Act of June 30, 1949. This legislation provides for the conveyance to "any State, political subdivision, instrumentality thereof, or municipality, all of the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to any surplus land . . . for historic monument purposes . . . without monetary consideration," upon determination by the Secretary of the Interior that the property is suitable and desirable for historic monument purposes, and with the approval of the Administrator, General Services Administration. This is provided: "That no property shall be determined . . . to be suitable or desirable for use as a historic monument except in conformity with the recommendations of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments," created by the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

Under the provisions of this law, such property conveyed to states, counties, or cities must be used and maintained for the purpose conveyed for a period of not less than 20 years or revert to the United States. Applications by local communities for historical surplus property of the Federal Government should be directed to the nearest regional office of the General Services Administration, which refers the application to the National Park Service for investigation and recommendation.

Between 1948 and 1960, a series of important community landmarks has been transferred under this law to states and communities throughout the Nation. The 24 historical surplus Federal properties transferred have included, in addition to Fort Wayne, which guarded the Canadian border, such famous properties as Fort Columbia, guardian of the mouth of the Great Columbia River, in Washington; Fort Popham, a coastal defense, in Maine; Fort Pickens, of Civil War fame, in Florida; a portion of Jefferson Barracks Military Reservation, the old Army quartermaster depot, in St. Louis; Fort Harbor Light Station on Lake Erie in Ohio, a pioneer light on the Great Lakes; Navesink Light Station, in New Jersey, guardian of the entrance to New York Harbor; the Old Customs House site in Yuma, Arizona, part of a pioneer border fort; Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, in Massa-

chusetts, landmark and scene of Alexander Stephen's imprisonment; and Fort Constitution in New Hampshire, site of colonial resistance in 1774 and later coastal defense. More than 15 million dollars would be a modest estimate of their monetary value.

In more recent years the Federal Government has gone beyond the transfer of valuable historical properties to states and cities and has offered financial assistance with certain types of historical or archeological conservation efforts. The latter principle is authorized, for example, in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956. This Act, refers to the preservation principles of the Antiquities Act of 1906 and provides specific language in Section 120 for the salvage of archeological remains within the construction zone of state highways built with Federal Aid Highway money and authorizes the use of such Federal funds for this purpose.

The Bureau of Public Roads has issued a policy and procedures memorandum under the Act of 1956 which requests State Highway authorities using Federal Aid money to alert appropriate state or local authorities concerned with historical and archeological preservation when a new road location or road improvement is to be placed in an area where cultural objects may be found.

In practice, the state archeologist, or the representative of the State University's Department of Archeology has made an agreement with the State Highway Department so that surveys may be made in advance, and, if a site or object is located, the State Highway Department may then use Federal Highway money to pay the cost of excavation crews and salvage operations on the proposed new right-of-way. At the present time, a number of states have active programs to use Federal Aid Highway money for this work, including such states as Wisconsin, Illinois, New Mexico, Utah, and South Dakota. The Federal Aid Highway Act is also an example of the continuing influence of the Antiquities Act, a basic Federal conservation measure.

Since 1950, another type of cross-country communication has brought about a direct application of the Antiquities Act of 1906. This is in relation to the laying of oil and gas transmission pipelines which cross the public domain; and by accepted practice, the protective phases of this Act has been applied to private and state lands also crossed by these huge facilities. When the large program of building these transcontinental facilities were initiated in 1950, they began to run into historical and archeological sites

and objects, and it was apparent that some measures should be taken to locate these in advance and to salvage and preserve the materials uncovered. The National Park Service took the initiative in the southwestern states to coordinate this program through the pipeline construction industry association, which now works closely with the Service's Region Three Office in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to arrange for the necessary investigation and salvage work on these right-of-ways.

In practice, the particular pipeline construction company, which anticipates crossing territory where archeological sites may be located, hires a qualified archeologist through the National Park Service to direct the project and the company then furnishes all necessary equipment and pays the salary of the archeologist and the work crews, and the cost of excavation and publication of the report relating to the important materials uncovered. This is a little known activity, but an active application of one of the earlier basic Federal preservation laws, and has resulted in the location, investigation, and publication of a large store of knowledge concerning historical and archeological antiquities which otherwise would have been destroyed completely in the vast program of industrialization now underway in the country.

A very recent application of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 is authorized in the Act of June 27, 1960, which provides for the preservation of historical and archeological data which might otherwise be lost as the result of construction of dams throughout the United States, whether they are Federal, state, or privately constructed dams. Because of the policies set forth in the Historic Sites Act to preserve sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, the Act of 1960 requires that, before any agency of the United States shall undertake the construction of a dam, or issue a license to any private individual or corporation for this purpose, it shall give written notice to the Secretary of the Interior setting forth the site of the proposed dam and the approximate area to be flooded. Upon the receipt of such notice, the Secretary of the Interior will have a survey made of the area to be flooded to ascertain whether it contains historical and archeological data which should be preserved in the public interest.

The Secretary is authorized to consult with any interested Federal and state agencies, educational and scientific organizations, and private institutions and qualified individuals to carry out the purposes of the 1960 Act. He may also enter into contracts or make cooperative agreements with the

foregoing and accept and utilize any funds made available for salvage archeological purposes by any private person or corporation holding a license issued by an agency of the United States for dam construction. This opens the way for public-minded corporations and private organizations to provide funds to preserve objects and antiquities which it may be urgent to save in a proposed dam-construction site.

In the present year 1960, we should mention new plans by which the Federal Government would transfer other Federal historical properties to cities and private organizations. Should the plans mature, the Federal Government by act of Congress would be authorized to work directly with cities and non-profit private organizations and to help them secure and preserve certain Federal properties of historical interest involved in urban renewal projects.

We have attempted here to trace the interest and attitude of the Federal Government mainly as expressed in Federal legislative actions with regard to the conservation of our national historical and archeological heritage. First, in the 19th century, we have seen the Federal Government turning to States or local groups for the saving of our great historic sites and resources, and noted then only the beginnings of Federal responsibility in this field. As the 20th century progressed, states and local groups increasingly turned to the Federal Government to preserve historical and archeological properties by Federal legislation and through Federal administration. The three basic Federal historical conservation acts, passed in 1906, 1916, and 1935, strengthened the Federal Government's position and interest in a national policy and program to save our historical and archeological heritage.

In the years since the passage of the Historic Sites Act, especially the last 12 years, the Federal Government has turned more and more to cooperation with state and local groups interested in this work. The Federal Government has given historical property and some limited financial aid for this purpose. Certainly, it is not possible or desirable for the Federal Government to own or administer all historic sites in the United States. Recognition by the Federal Government of the great and continuing contribution which states and local groups are making in historical conservation is not only deserved, but is also a thoughtful and healthy action. The turn to these agencies, now so well equipped for their preservation tasks, is a good omen. It might be said that this turning supports the old adage that "history

repeats itself." However, as John D. Hicks recently said: "History never quite repeats itself," so the applications of present Federal historical conservation legislation and its uncharted course in the future may yet pleasantly surprise us all!

SHOULD HISTORICAL AGENCIES HAVE TRAINING PROGRAMS?

*By Walter J. Heacock**

There are some two thousand "historical agencies" operating in the United States today. Their staffs compose a specialized labor force of many thousands. As the public interest in things historical increases and as standards of operation rise, many persons are concerned because the personnel capable of running these historical societies, museums, houses and sites is in short supply.

I have no broad acquaintance with historical agencies, nor am I an authority on training. And I am not certain that my appraisal of the problem of trained personnel would be agreed to by those more experienced in this field. For the past six years, however, I have been involved rather closely with what I suppose may be called a "historical agency;" for the same period we have conducted a small training program, which within its modest field of operations has met with some success. I propose to discuss the broad problem of trained personnel for historical agencies and then to tell you something of our experience.

I raise the question of what a historical agency is without attempting to give an answer. I do this principally to spotlight those commercial ventures that use or abuse history for private profit. There is nothing wrong, surely, in making an honest dollar by purveying the past in books, in magazines with hard covers, in art and in furniture reproductions, or in admitting the public to historic houses and sites. But when profit is the major — or only — consideration and authenticity of detail is ignored, I wonder if professional historians and organizations such as the Association should not in some way let the public know that these projects are not "historical agencies" and that their presentations of the past are spurious. I have not visited "Freedomland USA," and should probably not make any comment, but I do wonder if fact outweighs fiction in its attractions. I was interested in reading just last week of some problems at the Freedomland exhibit that re-

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enacts the Chicago fire. In front of the Chicago firehouse was placed this sign: "Due to operational difficulties, Chicago will not burn today." I wonder if there is a place in such projects for the trained personnel we are talking about this morning. Perhaps even a jazzy version of the past is better than none at all — perhaps. But this is not really our problem at this session.

More pertinent is the question of whether or not there is a distinct profession of historical agency administration. Is there a common core of knowledge and experience necessary for the successful historical society director, museum curator or registrar, historic house director, and restoration vice president? And is this cluster of occupational propensities sufficiently specialized to justify the label of a distinct profession? If so, it must be defined before we can formulate a training program for its prospective personnel. If not, we need some agreement on the varied knowledge and skills most useful to historical agency personnel, and then we must devise practical ways and means to teach them to interested persons.

In a recent issue of *The Curator*, Albert Parr raised this question for the museum profession. "Is there such a profession?" he asked. And after carefully examining the staff of the American Museum for the past twenty years, he reached a negative conclusion. He found that the members of his museum staff concerned with administration, exhibition, education, and research moved in circles of much wider occupations than those that could be specifically labeled museum. Professional mobility was greater between museum and non-museum jobs than it was within the museum field.

Parr made very clear that his conclusion was based on the experience of one institution, and he is willing to grant, somewhat reluctantly, that the combination of many different professional skills in a single individual might in itself constitute the creation of a new profession.

If a distinct profession has evolved or is evolving within those diverse institutions we labeled "historical agencies," I think it is to be found in Parr's words — "The combination of many different professional skills within a single individual." It should not be expected that every professionally trained staff member be an expert historian, archivist, librarian, curator, registrar, designer, preparator, public relations specialist, teacher, editor and administrator. But fortunate indeed is the historical agency which numbers among its staff one or more persons to whom none of these is entirely foreign, who has a special competence in one or more of these

fields, and whose training and experience has given him an intelligent basis for judgment in many of the fields outside his special interests.

Where are these paragons to be found? Ah — that's the problem we are supposedly facing in this session. If you will admit the need for such persons, and if you will agree that they are in very short supply, then perhaps you will be interested in one very small experiment in training — a cooperative venture sponsored by the Hagley Museum and the University of Delaware.

The program began in 1954 when the Hagley Museum was hardly more than an idea. At that time, the newly chartered Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation had an endowment, 165 acres of land along the Brandywine Creek, and a commitment to make appropriate use of both. The land had been of industrial importance in the eighteenth century and had been the birthplace of the Du Pont company in 1802. In time, a long-range plan involving an industrial museum, a limited restoration program, and a research library was developed.

At the very outset it was recognized that a close tie with the state university — located some 14 miles away — might be mutually advantageous. We took our cue quite obviously from the Winterthur-University of Delaware fellowship program, which was then in its third year.

Our motives were mixed. We felt that the presence on our staff of several intelligent, bright-eyed young people each year would be stimulating and profitable for us, and we also thought that we could give them a combination of academic instruction at the university and on-the-job experience at the museum which would be professionally valuable to them. Our foundation trustees agreed to underwrite two \$1800 graduate fellowships each year. These grants are renewable for a second year, and since it is a two-year program, we have a total of four fellows at a time.

It has not been our primary intent to produce museum directors, curators, or history professors, but to select from a fairly sizable group of applicants some promising students, principally history majors, and to give them an experience that will be of value to whichever profession they choose.

Basic to the entire program is a sound academic background in history. I think that this would hold true for any program designed to train historical agency personnel. Hagley fellows spend half of each of their four semesters in class at the University of Delaware. Courses, totaling 27 semester hours, investigate English and American life from the eve of colonization through

the nineteenth century, as well as the history of science and technology in Europe and America. Two courses are devoted to the history of American thought. A thesis, somewhat more demanding than the average master's thesis that I have encountered, is also required.

For the other half of their two-year program, the Hagley fellows are at the museum and are considered part of our staff. Although some of their instruction is in the form of lectures by full-time staff members, we try to involve them as much as possible in the actual operations of the museums. The problems they are given to solve are real problems, and there is a minimum of made-work.

During their first semester the fellows take a museum seminar course, for which they receive university credit. It divides roughly into two sections. One is devoted to local orientation, the history of the Brandywine Valley, local industries, and the source materials available for their study. The lectures covering this material are attended by our first-year fellows and the new class of museum guides. Several of the lectures are given by the second-year fellows.

The second division of the museum seminar begins with discussions of museums — their history and purpose, of historic sites and restoration, of the various organizations which we refer to as historical agencies. Then our regular staff members introduce, by precept and example, their special areas of responsibilities.

The research staff discusses the techniques of historical research and its special application to museum exhibits, historical restoration, and the like. The mechanics of note taking, writing reports, documentation and bibliographical citation are stressed. And each fellow is assigned a major research project, which will occupy part of his time for the remainder of the year. Some of our research is done with pick and shovel uncovering some of the mill sites on the museum property. We don't do very much with this, but our fellows do learn something of the use of archeology in interpreting historic sites and in restoration projects.

The mysteries of library operations are introduced by our staff librarian. The acquisition and care of books and manuscripts are discussed and the fellows assist the librarian in cataloging and filing. Our library contains the Du Pont company archives for the first hundred years of its history and smaller collections of the papers of other local industries. Under staff supervision, these collections have been processed, inventoried, cataloged

and filed. Hagley fellows do not become trained librarians or archivists, but they do receive a combination of instruction and experience which would be valuable in many historical agency jobs. Our library is small and largely, though not entirely, for staff use. But next year the collections of a much larger library are to be combined with ours in what we hope will become a center for regional industrial history.

Since we are a museum without a collection and without a curator, we are not able to give our fellows as much practical experience in curatorial duties as would be desirable. A museum without a collection is certainly an anomaly, and we are not quite in that position, but most of our exhibits consist of working models and dioramas. We do have a growing collection of industrial artifacts and other objects, some of which will be on display as other buildings are opened on our property. These have to be accessioned, identified and cataloged. Hagley fellows participate in this.

We design and construct our own exhibits, and again we think it is instructive to have our fellows observe an exhibit as it develops from idea to installation. Our staff designer discusses with them floor plans and layouts, lighting and lettering, special exhibit devices and — I suspect — the perils of amateur designing. Our exhibits preparator was not at all enthusiastic about having the fellows work in his laboratory for a few weeks, and protested that we expected him to teach in weeks what he had spent years acquiring. He was converted, however, when he finally understood that we were not trying to produce preparators and diorama builders, but future museum staff members who would be able to appreciate the skills and the problems of the experts who do build exhibits.

These are the chief areas of operation explored by the Hagley fellows their first semester, and in which they participate to some extent during the remainder of their two-year program. In addition, there are field trips to nearby historical societies, museums, historic homes, and the state archives.

During the second semester, courses at the University continue. Fellows work on their individual research assignments and there are sessions on historiography with a member of our research staff. They also gain some experience serving as museum guides.

Two days a week for five weeks during the spring, the fellows report to the Historical Society of Delaware. It is agreed that during this period they are to perform some useful service for the society and receive a broad but brief indoctrination in its operations.

During the summer we customarily employ the first-year fellows for various museum jobs. They are paid a full salary, but we allow some time for work on their thesis, which most of them have selected by this time.

During the third semester, the museum seminar course consists of readings and discussions in business and industrial history. The fellows also continue their thesis research and writing. They spend some additional time as guides and serve briefly as assistant museum manager during the winter.

The last semester is devoted chiefly to completing the thesis. Museum chores are reduced to a minimum, and there are informal sessions on job possibilities or plans for continuing the doctorate. Our fellows leave the university with a well-earned master's degree in history and they leave the museum with special qualifications for historical jobs.

The program is far from perfect. It is now, and I trust always will be, undergoing changes. There are a number of areas pertinent to historical agency work which we do not explore or to which we now give inadequate attention. We might well devote some time to the financial structure of the various agencies, fund raising, and the legal aspects of gifts to tax-free institutions. Historical editing and the publication of books and pamphlets should be included in the program. Public relations problems get some attention, but not enough. We have an oral history program, and have found it an excellent way to collect certain kinds of local history, but we have not yet had our fellows participate in this. Our museum is not greatly concerned with the decorative arts, but some of our fellows have gone into jobs where a greater knowledge of furniture and tools and household furnishings would be very helpful. We hope to meet this need in the future through some arrangement with the Winterthur Museum, only a few miles away.

I do not wish to suggest that the Hagley Museum program is the best possible solution to the growing and much-discussed need for historical agency personnel. But I do think the formula of joint university and museum participation is a good one. This does not mean simply providing part-time museum jobs for the interested university history major. Both the university and museum work must be carefully planned and geared to the realities of historical agency operation. Such a program is not necessarily expensive, and I think that there is a decided advantage in keeping the enrollment small — not necessarily as small as ours, however. Better I think to have twenty small training programs at twenty universities and museums scattered from coast to coast than to have only a few very large programs.

NEW HORIZONS

By Clifford L. Lord*

Presidential Address, AAS&LH, Iowa City Convention, September 2, 1960

We are the proud practitioners — despite my recent apostasy, I still so number myself — of one of the most exciting, exacting and worthwhile of the learned professions.

Exciting because we specialize in horizons unlimited. There is never enough money, never enough staff to do what must be done. Anyone connected with a historical society in any responsible capacity at any level is therefore driven to all sorts of mind-stretching mental gymnastics — extemporizing, inventing, recruiting, enlisting, persuading — to develop means of attracting the volunteers and the extra cash essential to doing a few more of the things that cry out for doing within the integrated framework of the established, accepted purposes of the progressive society.

Exacting because, whether one operates alone or as head of a staff of a hundred or more, the job requires what none of us are — the proverbial paragon of all virtues: academic competence and a knowledge of the material and methods of historical scholarship; administrative capacity, including the ability to deal successfully with reluctant donors of cash or kind and the talent to work effectively with staff of varying backgrounds, ages and competences; an intuitive or cultivated sense of public or community relations in the broadest sense; at least a basic technical know-how in all the multiple fields of historical society activity; the well-rooted conviction essential to winning others to support of your program; and finally, a family of rare tolerance and endurance.¹

Worthwhile, as some of you have heard me say before, because of the vital way in which localized history supplements the values of national history. The latter may give us background to the present situation; per-

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¹ In Board meetings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, George Clarke Sellery, emeritus dean, College of Letters and Sciences, University of Wisconsin, used to insist with urbane vigor that the directorship of a major historical society required a man with all the qualifications, academic and otherwise, of a small college president or the dean of a large university. I have no basis for judging his comparison with the former, but as for the latter, I can certify that he understated the case.

spective on our rate and means of progress; wisdom and understanding as we come to comprehend the operations of our society, economy and polity; and the cement of heritage to bind us together as members of a particular culture, nation or locality. But the vital function of localized history lies first of all in its healthy corrective emphasis on the diversity of the American scene — region by region, locality by locality, segment by segment of the national political party, company by company in the national economy. And it lies most importantly in its positive emphasis on the continuing importance of the individual, who under the microscopic approach of localized history loses his anonymity as a statistic (too often even a cipher) and emerges as the man who — working alone, with others or against others — makes history. Localized history is the story not only of what happened and how it happened but of the all-important who made it happen. It is localized, not national or world, history that brings us close to the source-springs of the American genius, which helps us understand how America has achieved so fluid and democratic a society, so dynamic an economy and so high a standard of living.

It is always important that we understand ourselves; in the continuing struggle for the minds and souls of mankind few have more to offer than we students of the localized American scene. I am happy to note that both major political parties in this election year show signs of recognizing that egalitarian American democracy is still the most revolutionary idea on the face of the earth, and that the American Revolution still represents a potentially most powerful ideology. But the truly revolutionary potential of the American experiment lies not so much in the examples and traditions of 1776 as in what the ensuing years show us and all men everywhere of the importance of the individual and of individual freedom in the record of localized American development.

I have already referred to the established purposes of the progressive society. These purposes may best be defined as the conservation, advancement and dissemination of knowledge² of the history of the particular society's locale or provenance, be that municipality, county, state or nation. The validity of this definition is attested to by events from New England to Texas to California: where in the past generation or two the historical

² A phrase borrowed from Nicholas Murray Butler, who in his 1919 report to the trustees of Columbia University used these words to describe the function of another type of institution of learning, the university.

society has failed to accept its full responsibility in all three areas, public demand creates other organizations to take over the neglected parts of the historical society's legitimate field.

The substance of this definition has evolved since 1791 when Jeremy Belknap fathered the noted Massachusetts Historical Society. In that age, and during the successive waves of historical society organization, collecting was the society's primary function — albeit the very activist type of collecting philosophy involved in Belknap's oft-quoted "bed of oysters" dictum³ should be re-emphasized. From early concentration on books, manuscripts, curiosities and newspapers, the collecting function broadened. Historic sites entered the scene in the mid-nineteenth century, public archives in the first decade of the present century. Collecting has continued to be a major function of the historical society — with a constant increase of discrimination and sophistication. Over the years, the earlier cabinet of curiosities has gradually yielded to the museum devoted to the structured presentation of the history of a particular area; the library and manuscript collections have come to be focused on the locale; and there is some indication that the collecting of historic sites may yield to some comparable criteria — a point to which I shall return later.

The advancement of knowledge of the history of the area — the research program — has been closely associated with the collecting function. Primarily, and still traditionally, this has been limited to assembling and giving to materials organization useful to the scholar — a service to scholarship of no mean significance or extent. But here and there over the years, more typically among certain local societies, substantial research programs have been undertaken by the societies themselves. Frequently this has been done by one or two talented amateurs; increasingly by cooperative committees or task forces of interested people.

Dissemination of knowledge — a proper function of any learned society — has evolved from the early publication of manuscript materials in the numerous series or "collections" of many societies into a major area of modern society operations with monographs, picture histories, magazines

³ Jeremy Belknap: "We intend to be an *active* not a *passive* literary body, not to lie waiting like a bed of oysters, for the tide (of communication) to flow in upon us, but to *seek* and *find*, to *preserve* and communicate literary intelligence, especially in the historical way." Quoted from a letter written by Belknap to a Mr. Hazard, 1791, in the introduction to *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, p. xv (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1879).

and multi-volume histories added to the earlier documents. Centennial observances have been popular since 1876. Historic marker programs date from the early efforts in California and New England of the 1890's. Quarterly historical magazines from the state societies — and later the locals — followed shortly. Pageants reached an early peak just before World War I. Radio has been much used since the 1920's; television, workshops and institutes since World War II.

In the later history of the historical society, the work of the American Association has been both influential and instructive. Its predecessor, the Conference of Historical Societies, was organized as an activity of the American Historical Association in 1904 under the leadership of Reuben Gold Thwaites, then superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Thwaites had been active in the AHA with Jameson Osgood and others in securing transcripts of European archives germane to American history, most particularly in acquiring for mid-western societies those of the old Northwest. Thwaites was also the father of the western-type historical society, hailed as such by no less an authority than Frederick Jackson Turner.⁴ It was he who in Wisconsin actively fostered the development of local historical societies closely allied with the state society. It was he who stimulated the first state marker program, who began holding society meetings in various parts of the state, who spoke annually from Superior to Racine, from Prairie du Chien to Green Bay, enlisting the interest and support of the people in the work of his society, who encouraged the celebration of local anniversaries and the use of the historical pageant — all the while stepping up the collecting programs of the society, introducing the systematic approach to manuscript collecting, initiating the state archives, professionalizing the museum, editing some 88 volumes and writing some 15 others. His leadership in dissemination, quickly followed by Alvord in Illinois and Shambaugh in Iowa, proved contagious, as the broad-programmed, western-type progressive society — publicly supported with growing largesse because it served the public with growing effectiveness — caught on in almost every part of the country.

The Conference was reorganized in 1941 as the American Association for State and Local History, which, Thwaites-like, devoted much of its emphasis to "popularization," a phrase denoting many aspects of the vital

⁴ Frederick Jackson Turner, *Reuben Gold Thwaites, A Memorial Address* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1914).

function of dissemination. By this was meant the recruitment of the talented amateur to the cause of local history; the development of modern museum techniques to tell an eager public the stories the artifacts illustrated; the widespread use of the pageant, radio, and television; the adaptation of the marker to the age of the automobile; the advent of the mobile museum and similar devices to take history to the people. The *Bulletins* told others how to do it. *History News* spread good ideas and encouraged a sense of belonging to a national movement. Awards gave national recognition to outstanding accomplishments and inspired leadership. *American Heritage* furnished an index to the degree of popular interest in heritage. Latterly, our Association has encouraged the development of standards for the profession;⁵ joined with the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Colonial Williamsburg in a recruiting program; publicized job opportunities in the field; undertaken a survey of the historical society, its role and its aspirations in 1960; and through its central office at Madison greatly forwarded the good work on a wide variety of fronts.

Against this three-part background — the evolution of the functions and purposes of the historical society, the development of a national professional association of historical society people, and the tremendous post-World-War-II groundswell of public interest in our history, which has made our profession that much more exciting, exacting and rewarding — let's look at some of the problems now with us and at some of the things we next need to do. I emphasize the incomplete nature of the list, as I have deliberately omitted the very important but as yet unidentified items we should undertake in further service to the local societies, which the Silvestro-Williams survey of historical societies is in part designed to discover. To call the problems here included "new horizons" is a bit ambitious; they are right under our noses.

Collecting, as I have indicated, has from the outset been a primary function of the historical society. (Indeed there are certain conservatives, quite naturally concentrated in certain parts of New England, who still insist that it is the *only* proper function of the historical society.) Aside from the "Battle of the Bulk,"⁶ what are the special nuances of collecting today? I shall not deal with the much-discussed and overwhelming problem of

⁵ AAS&LH: Report of the Committee on Standards (mimeographed, 1957).

⁶ A reference to an earlier panel discussion at the Iowa City convention of the AAS&LH.

business records. While complete solution still eludes us, that surely is no new horizon.

But this is the era in which the United States has achieved a craggy pinnacle of international influence. Presently it is at the vortex of an incredibly complex "cold war" for the future of our civilization. Who is collecting the diary and the correspondence of the Point Four expert? Of the modern, discerning traveler abroad? Of the American business man stationed abroad? Of the second and third echelon diplomat? Of the foreign visitor to our shores? Or the stories sent by the foreign students in this country to his home-town newspaper? Should we leave this important field to the chance collecting habits of most societies, or should we not rather pick pooled brains and organize a coordinated drive to gather such records while they are not only available but being produced? Even the publicity attendant on a conference of interested academic historians and the collectors in the historical societies would do much to call attention to the problem and stir at least some organizations into action.

This is the age of plastics, electronics and atomic power. What pertinent manuscripts are significant, let alone available? What artifacts should we be gathering? What documentation are we collecting on the social impact of the three new ages here represented? Who among us has decided just what to gather for the study collection of the present or the research of the future historian? How can we decide what we should collect, except in consultation with the specialists in these fields?

This is the age of mobility. We all know the difficulty of maintaining address lists. The American Alumni Council recently produced the surprising but thoroughly credible figure that 31 per cent of the alumni of American colleges and universities change residence in any given year. But that is only a minor symptom of the problem. Automobiles and airplanes carry unprecedented numbers of people about the country; businessmen, government employees, farmers, migrant laborers, lawyers, doctors, students — everyone is on the move. So, too, are the housewives and the tourists, young and old. What is the effect of this upon the nation — upon the people both mobile and immobile? What sort of documentation, if any, is being created which reflects this effect? Where are the materials of the social and intellectual as well as the economic history thus being generated? And what are we doing about them?

This is the age of mass media of communication: of television, radio,

the magazine of huge circulation, the advertisement, the throw-away in unprecedented bulk. What is their impact? What exists by way of record? Surely this field exceeds in size even the perennial problem of the business record. What historical society, outside Wisconsin, is even nibbling at this? Is Wisconsin on the right track? At least it has recently held a conference of experts.

Today no one questions the economic, social and political significance of the institution of organized labor. Some attempts have been made in recent years to collect and preserve the records of internationals, central bodies, trades councils and locals. Some internationals have established their own archival programs. Some have resorted to wholesale and some to selective microfilming. The Electrical Workers have purchased and restored the birthplace of Harry S. Truman. Other state-wide and local organizations have donated their services to community projects, such as the restoration of the local historic house. But on a larger horizon, changes of tremendous significance are taking place in the labor scene. Organized labor is historically a blue-collar movement: yet the collars of the modern labor force are now more white than blue.⁷ Automation is already transforming both the nature of and the market for labor. Hosts of problems of major significance stem from such basic changes — of major significance for labor, for the community, for the economy and society. What records of these changes are being created? And who is collecting them?

This is the era of organized subversion, in which alien funds are pumped in ever increasing amounts into the perversion of innocent movements to the end of disruption and discreditation. Who, outside the FBI, the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, and one private corporation I know of, has made a conscientious effort to locate and gather the documentation of the earlier years of this phenomenon, already a critical part of our national and local history?

This is the computer age. Merle Curti has applied the punch card to local history with fascinating results. We can all sense the potentialities and weaknesses of this approach. But from the point of view of the historical society — the collecting agency — what changes in collection policy may be advisable because of this new tool of research? What are the implications for our libraries of the several projects to reduce segments of

⁷ A. Warner, "The Expanding White Collar," *Challenge*, Vol. 7, No. 9, June 1959, pp. 30-35.

human knowledge to mechanical memories? What of the mechanical indices to knowledge in certain fields? What of the new Mark II translator, with its enormous potentials for the automated translation of the foreign diary, the Amerika letter, foreign editorial comment on events in the United States? Should we let nature take its course, or might we better counsel together to formulate an organized approach, however feeble, to the problems involved?

This is the era of the historic site. Traveling the country, or reading *History News*, one gets the impression that the community or county that today does not have its own historic shrine is indeed a rarity. Pioneer cabins, old grist mills and unsaleable Victorian mansions abound. Forts, old school houses and occasional taverns and churches are being saved. But I cannot escape the conviction that we need a well-thought-out program area by area. No one can afford to preserve something of everything — store, cooperage, blacksmith shop, tobacco shed, watchmaker's shop, stagecoach stop, fiddlemaker's shop, obsolete power plant, movie theater, county courthouse, firehouse, "opry house," roundhouse, and every other manner of house. Indeed, if everyone attempted such a program, the preservation movement would be even more sorely in need of a good emetic than it is. Somehow we must work out a sensible cooperative program, region by region, whereby the best available will be saved, variety will be maintained, and every important type of building and the best in American architecture will be preserved somewhere. Perhaps the current inventory of historic properties by the National Park Service offers a key to a basically baffling situation. Perhaps from it, an orderly program for the acquisition and preservation of historic buildings and sites can be worked out between the federal government, the states and the localities. The evaluation of historic sites in Kansas, conducted a few years ago by the Kansas State Historical Society, offers a happy model.⁸ Perhaps this Association and its members, sitting with the National Park Service and the National Trust, could work out priorities, earmarking certain sites for national development, others for state development, others for local development. It could be worth a good try.

All of us know that many an imaginative entrepreneur has discovered that today there is money in history. We are painfully aware of the effect on the historic sites movement of the resulting increase in the number of

⁸ See *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Summer 1957, pp. 113-180.

tourist traps. The innocent driver, finally shanghaied by his antique-minded wife or his vigorously curious son, is reluctantly inveigled into visiting a historic attraction. If he lands in one of the tourist traps, he invokes a plague on both houses, is through visiting historic shrines for life. The damage done to the interests of many of our member societies through these over-commercialized, often-faked "attractions" is devastating. What can be done? I suggest a program of accrediting historic sites and museums, in cooperation with the National Trust and the American Association of Museums or, if necessary, on our own. With the issuance of tourist guides not only by the American Automobile Association, but by several of the major oil companies, an easy avenue is open to this end. The judgment of the nearest major historical agency, buttressed (and perhaps shielded) by a small task force of other historical agency people, should govern. The oil companies and the AAA could be expected to accept — or at least to note — our certification. An accreditation symbol might or might not be displayed at qualified sites. The difficulties are numerous, but the situation cries for remedy. And I, for one, would like to see us have a try at a solution.

This is another in the continuing series of eras of financial perplexities for most societies. Those enjoying tax support are in many instances finding that opposition to new taxes leads to resistance to larger appropriations, even to those calculated merely to offset the immediate impact of inflation. Is the tax-base for tax-supported historical organizations drying up? I think not, provided we do the kind of job we should be doing, and provided we see that people understand the significance of that job. But what are the possibilities of annual corporate support payments, not just as local do-gooding, but in the larger interests of the company?⁹ What are the foundations doing for historical societies — or for staff members of historical societies? Precious little, we all know. It is increasingly clear that the easy money, public or private, is harder and harder to find. And that challenges all of us to communicate more effectively the purposes for which we work, and the true impact of our programs, if we are to secure the enlarged financial support I'm sure we all feel we deserve and do.

This is an age in which popular interest in our history is at an all-time high and seems constantly to be growing. This rapid increase in public

⁹ See Richard Eells, "Corporate Giving: Theory and Policy," *California Management Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 35-46.

interest and support entails for our historical societies a vast increase of responsibilities to which our able director has been calling attention.¹⁰ The best of us are inadequately staffed to meet these new responsibilities. The constant shortage of trained professional staff at the large outfit like Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio or New York is one aspect. But the pressing nature of the problem is brought into focus and dramatized by the remarkable performances of the new small societies which have had a single, inspired professional leader. I cite the present York County (Pa.) or Fort Wayne (Ind.) societies, the recent Wyoming Valley Historical and Geological Society (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.), the past Rock County (Wisc.) Society. If the mounting public pressure in community after community is to be effectively met and put to work, we must have additional able and imaginative, historically-trained administrators in a hurry. This is not a job for poor old Joe, who can hold no other job. It is no job for the culls of the graduate schools. It requires high and special talent. And while we all can cite the miracles performed by volunteers alone — like the Staten Island (N.Y.) Society, the Sawyer County (Wisc.) Society, the King of Prussia (Pa.) Society and the Tuolumne County (Calif.) Society — in general it is obvious that the society which employs a full-time specialist, however enthusiastic its volunteers at the moment, is well advised: the welfare of the society will still be his paid responsibility when the enthusiasms of others may have flagged or been diverted to other purposes.

Our able director's publicity on job opportunities two years ago¹¹ produced an embarrassing flood of inquiries, largely from college undergraduates. There are other eager candidates resident in the general public. Both groups are substantially untrained in history and in administration. So we face a serious shortage of trained man-power, and a growing group of undertrained people who are interested. How do we put them together? We participate in one recruiting program, the Williamsburg Seminar for Historical Administrators. Negotiations are well advanced for a second in the mid-west. As a minimum, we need a third in the far west. Formal training is offered at several institutions (Wisconsin, Michigan, Columbia, McAllister, William and Mary). There are summer institutes at Radcliffe and Cooperstown. But we need a program, such as the long-discussed in-

¹⁰ C. M. Silvestro, "The Pacemakers," (seen in manuscript).

¹¹ C. M. Silvestro, *Your Job Opportunities With A Historical Agency* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1958).

ternship training program, to develop top talent as rapidly as possible to meet the present shortage. And we need a continuing, long-range program to insure an adequate supply of good professionals in all the many aspects of historical society work for the future.

As we accelerate the recruitment and training of staff, we must improve simultaneously the attractiveness of the profession to the full-time worker. What are we doing to enforce the modest recommendations of the Olson Committee on Professional Standards?¹² What about the uncertain tenure of staff people, too many of whom still hold their jobs on the sufferance of either the director or the president? What of expenses for professionals in historical society work to go to conventions in their respective fields — be that history, archaeology, librarianship, archival or museum work, writing, editing, publishing, numismatics, public relations or the American Association for State and Local History? What of sabbatical leaves to assist the scholar in the historical society maintain his scholarly production? Or of pay incentives for research productivity on the job? What indeed of salary levels which, once well ahead of academic levels and still ahead in some places, are in other areas beginning to lag badly? Who better than our Association can forward recruitment, salary levels, research travel, pay incentives, sabbaticals, and standards of appointment and tenure? Clearly both basic and fringe benefits must be developed rapidly if the historical society is to hold its own in the next decade against the increasingly tough competition of the colleges and universities for the competent young historian who has a flair for administration.

Many of us have been concerned for some years about the sizable chasm between the academic historian and the historical society historian. Concern on both sides has established a number of promising bridges. A small but growing number of history professors are calling to the attention of their superior graduate students the possibility of some career other than teaching. Historical society directors serve on the boards of both the Mississippi Valley and American Historical Associations. But the major bridge is about to be built. It has long seemed to me that if we are to do our job in its fullness, if localized history is our basic interest as well as our *raison d'être*, we must do what we can to encourage sound, scholarly, interpretive historical research and publication in localized history. The obvious sources of authors are (1) the talented amateur, and (2) the young

¹² AAS&LH, Report of the Committee on Standards (mimeographed, 1957).

academic historian who is attracted to local history but is quickly disenchanted because academic advancement depends in most institutions on one's publication record while research grants and publication for works in localized history remain few and far between.

Last December at Chicago a group of interested academicians and members of our Council met to discuss the needs in this field. There was practical unanimity on the need for a publication program over and above the presently limited opportunities offered by the few historical societies which publish monographs and the few university presses which will publish a work in localized history. Some doubts were expressed about a modest grant-in-aid program, but again a large majority favored a limited program of grants to research projects sufficiently advanced to indicate that they possess both real significance and the likelihood of early completion. Tuesday night your Council voted to establish a three-part program to supplement existing facilities in this important area. This will not only contribute greatly to further bridging the gap between our people and the academic world; it will, I am convinced, contribute even more substantially to the ultimate stature of our work through the production of good local history, the encouragement of the skilled amateur, and the retention in localized history of a sizable squad of competent academicians.

About a year ago, a friend of mine, bothered by the growth of our gargantuan megalopoli, was speculating about the role the local historical society could play in the solution of their most pressing problems. The mobility of our population, already alluded to, here leads often to a distressing disassociation from civic affairs. The junior executive, assigned to Chicago for three years, knows he then will move elsewhere. The newcomer from abroad takes temporary residence in New York until he gets his sights fixed on another area and has accumulated the money to get there. The westerner, full of great expectations, takes a job in the big city, becomes quickly disillusioned with the cost of living, the smog and commuting, and decamps at an early date. The urbanite moves to one suburb, thence to another, thence to still another. In short, the community within the megalopolis has a high percentage of migrants who feel no responsibility for the community, take no part in its civic affairs. By such abdication, local affairs are all too often left to the local machine politician. Recreation and welfare facilities — even new schools — are voted down by people who feel no local responsibility. Juvenile delinquency may increase. The metropolis goes to hell.

In conjuring with this thesis, which I have obviously oversimplified, my friend had come to the local historical society as the last best hope of mankind. For here was an established group, of a somewhat *élite* nature, with considerable prestige and at least something of a reservoir of local goodwill. It could give the newcomer the background of present problems, knowledge of how the community had become what it had, and so induce a sense of belonging. From that position to one of accepting some responsibility was a relatively short step. And from a sense of responsibility to active participation, even during a residence of short duration, was by no means inconceivable. What did I think?

I thought he had flung the biggest possible challenge in the face of some very weak and a few strong outfits — an impression I still had after discussing the concept with some historical society leaders at our 1959 convention. I could see all sorts of problems. I was hardly optimistic. But he had opened all sorts of magnificent new horizons. I had seen this sort of program lead to a substantial rejuvenation of one small community (Hayward, Wisc.) and toward major changes in two fair-sized cities (Wilkes-Barre and York, Pennsylvania). The potentials were enormous, and once again because the horizons were unlimited, because such a program would challenge the very best brains in the whole movement, I share his thinking with you. Can the historical society do something effective of this sort? Could a series of regional conferences — perhaps east, south, mid-west and west to start with — between state and local historical society people, communicators (for much of this is a problem of communication), and responsible civic leaders, stimulate discussions which could flow on to more localized conferences, and ultimately to experimental programs? It's worth some serious thought.

Here, too, lies the key to the historical society's direct potential contribution to what I have referred to as an age of subversion. If the story of how things happen locally brings into clear and sharp focus the continuing importance of the individual, if localized history offers compelling evidence of the stimulative power of personal and intellectual freedom, if indeed it brings us to a deeper understanding of ourselves and the source-springs of American greatness, then our field of activity offers a mature approach to political stability and a sound, factual, intellectual basis for rejecting seductive ideologies.

The great issue of this age is now rather clearly drawn. Modern com-

munism — dictatorial state capitalism — can work. It can create capital through directed work and forced savings. It can create a highly productive economy. It can raise standards of living. Earlier hopes of internal collapse, despite internal stresses, seem increasingly chimerical. It is clear that men will work effectively and at times energetically under governmental dictation, and that they will support such a government — at least so long as it produces some evidences of stronger nationhood and better living conditions. The old adage that nothing succeeds like success is as applicable and pertinent in the contest for the future of mankind as in lesser fields. The issue, then, for our age is whether men develop better, more fully, more sublimely under conditions of organized compulsion or individual freedom; with firm restrictions of economic and intellectual direction or with freedom to probe new horizons to the limit of their individual abilities. In the discussion of this basic issue of our age, the evidence of the American experiment recorded in the history of our localities and the people who made them can be of decisive importance.

A final problem. We still have in this country a considerable number of historical societies which are distinctly restrictive in membership — in which social status, wealth, or family connection with early settlers are more important than interest and willingness to work in local history. But undeniably we have seen, in the last generation particularly, a marked democratization of the historical society. The swelling membership totals, local and state; the recasting of historical quarterlies and museum exhibits into twentieth century formats; attendance figures at historic sites; the use of radio, television, mobile museums and the whole concept of taking history to the people attest to this. Yet, great as has been the movement in this direction, we must face the fact that — again in general — the historical society is still restrictive.

In Wisconsin at our Monday morning brainstorming sessions, we used to have a mythical figure against whom we measured contemplated projects: the plumber from Kenosha. Note that even he, intended to represent a democratic enlargement, actually was himself a restrictive concept. He was not a manual laborer, but a skilled, well-paid craftsman with leisure time and a well-established place in society. No moron he. He was neither underprivileged nor underdeveloped. The point is that he did not join even so extroverted, democratic, aggressive a historical society as Wisconsin's; he did not buy its books; he did not even visit its historic sites or history-mobile.

But this is the age of the common man. If any doubts of this existed in the days after the New Deal, they have been dispelled in the face of student uprisings in South Korea, Japan, Turkey and India; the abrupt end of western colonialism; the Cuban Revolution and the seething popular unrest in much of Latin-America; the rapid liberation of Black Africa and the volcanic agitation of the people of that continent; the acceleration of racial equality in these United States and the revival of African separatism in Harlem; the forces of teen-age unrest uniformed in black jackets throughout the western world. This is a period of fantastically rapid change. The world of 1950 is not the world of today; the world of today may not be recognizable tomorrow.

In this seething cauldron of drastic change, what of the historical society? However democratic it may be today, will it tomorrow, because it reaches only the upper levels of our society, be even more out of touch with the main stream of events, even more isolated from contact with reality, of even less interest to the public than the snobbish, or self-congratulatory, or one-meeting-a-year historical society is today? Not reaching even the plumber from Kenosha today, will it be completely shelved in the greater égalitarianism of tomorrow? And what can we do about *this*? How can we improve the calibre of the citizenship of the growing megalopolis or effectively participate in the great ideological debate confronting the world today if we cannot reach past the plumber from Kenosha to the less educated, less skilled, less favored man beyond?

I have been asking a lot of questions tonight, questions which have no correct answers, but which commend themselves to us for consideration, study, conference and action: the formulation of collecting policies in tune with the age; the role of the historical society in making citizens of the transient residents of the community; what to do about historic sites and the tourist trap; finances; recruitment; training and prerogatives of the staff; augmented research and publication facilities in localized history; the spread of our base as widely as possible in a rapidly changing world. Disparate as they may at first blush seem, they are part and parcel of the field of the progressive society — the conservation, advancement and dissemination of knowledge of the history of a localized area. These are with us here and now. They are present problems.

So in closing, may I justify the title of these remarks with one brief look at what truly seems to me *the* new horizon? Amid all the problems and

challenges I have cited tonight — and others I have not — we glimpse unparalleled opportunity. Today we ride as we have for a decade and a half a major wave of interest in our heritage. Today the nation, having enjoyed a binge of anti-intellectualism with deep historic roots, seems increasingly inclined in the post-Sputnik reaction to both respect and enter the house of intellect. This climate of opinion is made to order for a further raising of our standards on the one hand, and for a larger recruitment of the public interest on the other. Today we are desperately short-handed in terms of full-time professionals of the highest calibre. But ahead is the wave of young people — many of them now or formerly junior historians — who, if we can but keep up the present momentum of our movement, will come into this field both as amateurs and professionals in numbers undreamed of today. Automation will reduce the work week of many, who will be free to visit historic sites, to volunteer their help to the local historical museum, to join the local historical society. It takes little daring to venture tonight into the historian's forbidden field of prophecy and see ahead an era of historical agency activity, well grounded on the achievements and programs of today, which will make our own work seem both puny by comparison and the more wonderfully rewarding in that it should have borne such magnificent fruit.

On that note I yield the gavel to my distinguished successor, with my sincere appreciation for the signal honor you have twice done me in electing me to the Association's highest office, and with my equally sincere hope that you share my feeling that — despite my own sins of both omission and commission — these have been good years for our remarkable and perpetually, pregnantly productive organization.

THE DEDICATION OF THE
CENTENNIAL BUILDING IN RETROSPECT
and the
20th Annual Meeting of the AASLH

*By William J. Petersen**

The dedication of the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building was undoubtedly the most significant event in 103 years of the Society's history. Never before had the State Historical Society actually owned its own building. Never before had it occupied a building expressly designed and built for its varied purposes. Never before had it occupied space that assured almost unlimited expansion for a generation and more to come. Each of these facts was extremely important and the last, perhaps, the most important of all. The State Historical Society of Iowa now occupied a virtually fireproof shelter for the invaluable books it had collected over the years. In addition, it now had freedom of space in which to work and an opportunity to acquire more books, newspapers, and manuscripts in the years ahead.

Iowans had been more or less familiar with the cramped and inaccessible quarters occupied by the Society in the past. Many had paid one visit, only to find the eighty-six steps to our office and library so difficult that they had written the Superintendent upon their return home that they would never be able to use the Society's facilities again. Those who had come from distant points to attend the 20th Annual Meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Iowa City in 1960, and who, at some previous time, had visited us in our old quarters in Schaeffer Hall, were quick to note the difference. The following are some random comments written to the Superintendent of the Society following the Dedication of the Centennial Building.

"It was really heartwarming to all of us to be able to participate in the dedication of the new building, which we all know is a very real and lasting

*William J. Petersen is Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

monument to the Bill Petersens." Clifford Lord, President, American Association for State and Local History, Columbia University, N.Y.

"You are to be congratulated most sincerely upon that very wonderful building which will serve the people of Iowa and surrounding territory in a very wonderful manner for the next hundred years." J. Raymond Chadwick, President, Iowa Wesleyan College, Mt. Pleasant.

"Congratulations on the most successful dedication of the Iowa Centennial Building and on the most successful annual convention of the American Association for State and Local History! But the greatest and most lasting phase of the week was the dedication of your Centennial Building. You have done a magnificent job on the structure itself. It will permit and induce efficiency of service and provide adequately for the present and future." Dr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary Emeritus, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

"It is a fine step forward, and Iowa is to be congratulated for having the building, but most of all for Steamboat Bill and his co-worker." Henry D. Brown, Director, Detroit Historical Commission, Detroit, Michigan.

"We congratulate you upon the dedication of your fine new building. The feature of the meeting, in our judgment, was MacKinlay Kantor's talk. I surely hope you will be able to publish that and some of the other better papers of the meeting. But I am afraid that not many historical novelists will live up to his standards of scholarship." Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

"The building is not only a monument to the citizens of the State of Iowa, but also to you for your perseverance and capability in guiding the plans to such a substantial and satisfactory completion." Hon. Lloyd Thurston, Osceola.

"I would like to add my personal congratulations also upon your successful campaign to provide for your organization the splendid new building. I know the entire group felt heart-warmed in witnessing your triumph in this connection. Of course it gives all the rest of us encouragement also." W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

"The completion of the Centennial Building represents a personal achievement for you, because without your leadership it would still remain on the third floor." Harry H. Hagemann, President of Board of Regents, Waverly.

"Everything went off very well and certainly you should be very proud

of the building. It could not have been done, however, without the hard work which you and Bessie put into it over the years. It must be quite a satisfaction to you to see the building a reality." Dean Allin W. Dakin, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

"Please accept my heartiest congratulations on the significant achievement of your attainment of a building and on the notable development of resources and services in behalf of the State Historical Society of Iowa." Robert W. Orr, Director, The Library, Iowa State University, Ames.

"The State Historical Society of Iowa now has one of the best equipped archival institutions it has been my pleasure to visit. This fine plant is a tribute to the interest of your membership, your personal leadership, and the assistance of Mrs. Petersen. You are to be congratulated on the happy occasion which brought about the opening of this fine resource for the historical scholar. I would personally like to have the the opportunity of pursuing a research topic through the use of your facilities. . . . I envy the scholar who has the opportunity to work in your excellent institution." Rogers W. Young, Staff Historian, National Park Service, Washington D.C.

Although Park Historian Young has not been able to perform any research in our building up to the present time, other scholars from far distant points have studied in the Centennial Building and found its resources readily accessible. In a letter dated September 1, 1960, Professor Herman E. Bateman of the Department of History at the University of Arizona in Tucson, stated:

"It is impossible for me to thank you adequately for the warm hospitality and kindness which I experienced at your hands. Had the Dolliver papers not been so well organized my task would have consumed much more time. But after seeing the efficiency with which the Society and its facilities are managed I can appreciate that the organization of one set of papers is only part of a gigantic task."

From another historian, Professor Walter A. Sutton of the University of Texas, came the following heart-warming comment dated September 21, 1961.

"After seeing what you are accomplishing in the Historical Society, I feel guilty about taking up your time with my small problems. Quite frankly, I was considerably startled to find that the Society had so much material of value and all so easily accessible. I don't know how you have managed to find the time and money to provide such excellent finding aids for your

collections, since these are usually not found in state historical societies. When I think of all the dismal, cluttered and chaotic organizations called historical societies, I am amazed that your building, obviously constructed on a no-frill budget, combines utility and safeguards for your materials and yet has a comfortable atmosphere in a true research setting. . . . I don't know how much money Iowa spends on your programs, but the people of Iowa are receiving a phenomenal return on the investment. . . . I never before realized how important such a society could be to a state but after seeing your work, I have been converted."

These are but a few of the many fine comments that have been received from all sections of the country. From far-away Boston, William G. Mok-ray, Vice President of the Boston Celtics and the leading authority in the United States on basketball history, wrote "your voluminous new library" is "without exaggeration" on my part, "one of the more informative in the nation." From his home in Sarasota, Florida, Iowa's distinguished Pulitzer Prize Winner, MacKinlay Kantor, paid high tribute to the Society and its staff in his new book—*Spirit Lake*. From outstanding historians and scholars throughout the nation have come similar words of praise as they use the facilities of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It is on such a happy note that we close this issue of the IOWA JOURNAL which commemorates the dedication of the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building and the 20th Annual Meeting of the American Association for State and Local History in Iowa City on August 31, September 1, 2, 3, 1960.

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COVER

The Capture of Vicksburg — Arrival of Admiral Porter's Fleet at the Levee on July 4, 1863. Sketched by Mr. Theo. R. Davis, in *Harper's Weekly*, August 1, 1863.

IOWA IN THE CIVIL WAR: A REFERENCE GUIDE

*Compiled by James J. Robertson, Jr.**

A scant century ago the United States underwent near-fatal convulsions. Civil war was not totally unexpected; the events which led to an outbreak of hostilities — conflicting opinion over ultimate sovereignty, economic rivalries, slavery, the jockeying for representative superiority, a general misunderstanding between North and South — were the same events that had characterized the American political scene for a full two score years.

Until 1860 Americans had been able to settle, or at least live with, their disagreements through bargaining and compromise. For a generation the democratic process had somehow managed to dissipate the black clouds of civil war. But the election of a Republican unknown named Lincoln, on a platform odious to most Southerners, spurred to reality what William H. Seward two years earlier had termed the “irrepressible conflict.” The machinery of national government shuddered and ground to a halt as South Carolina’s cog, followed successively by those of ten other Southern states, broke away and rolled off into the distance.

While a few moderates earnestly besought again the already-worn tools of compromise, the majority of Northerners and Southerners were too weary of negotiations, niceties, and nostrums. The New York *Tribune*’s Horace Greeley voiced the prevailing sentiment when he shouted editorially: “Let this suspense and uncertainty cease! If we are to fight, so be it.”

Events moved rapidly and inexorably toward civil war. Yet the artillery salvos delivered at Fort Sumter in April, 1861, were but the dull echoes of a people confident in their complacency and fraught with the misconception that the democratic process would once more avert an internal hemorrhage — when, in actuality, the prerogatives of democracy had been stretched time and time again until they had broken into the fragments of a disunited nation.

*A native of Danville, Virginia, James I. Robertson, Jr., holds degrees in history from Randolph-Macon College and Emory University. He is at present editor of *Civil War History*, a quarterly journal of the State University of Iowa, and an advisor to the Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission.

War, the most insolvent ingredient of mankind, nevertheless seemed the only solution. Armed with little more than cultivated bitterness, 30,000,000 Americans took sides for a fight few people thought would last over six months. Four years later, over 618,000 men lay dead, mute evidence of a struggle simultaneously brutal, dramatic and epochal. Perhaps above all else, from the heartache of the Civil War emerged a nation whose unity would never again be challenged.

In 1861 the State of Iowa was but fourteen years old. It possessed no forts, no garrisons, no organized military units. A handful of local militia companies performed their primary peacetime function of drilling snappily to the delight of Sunday afternoon gatherings. When President Lincoln in mid-April called on Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood to supply a regiment for immediate service, the busy executive had to consult his aides and a military dictionary to ascertain the definition and size of a regiment.

Thenceforth, however, Iowa lost its amateur standing. Amid cheers and joyful farewells, the 1st Iowa Infantry steamed down the Mississippi in May, 1861. Two months later the 2nd and 3rd Regiments were en route southward. By the close of 1861 nineteen units were in the field. In all, fifty-eight regiments and four artillery batteries were organized during the war years.

From an 1860 population of 674,000 people, 76,000 men — 11% of the total population — went into the Federal armies. Hard-cored Westerners, these courageous Iowa frontiersmen campaigned from Wilson's Creek to Bentonville in some of the most bitter fighting in history. Iowa's first battle fatality occurred in August, 1861; one out of every four bluecoats who fell at Shiloh was an Iowan; Hawkeye warriors spearheaded Grant's drive on Vicksburg and Sherman's March to the Sea. In the Western theater, where the outcome of the war was largely decided, Iowa troops were an integral part of every major campaign. But the cost of valor ran high: 13,000 Iowa soldiers — better than one out of every six who entered military service — succumbed to disease and bullets. That twenty-eight Billy Yanks from Iowa received the Congressional Medal of Honor is testimony enough of their gallantry and devotion to duty. The deeds of soldiers on faraway battlefields were matched by the perseverance of the "homefolk," most of whom weathered with understanding and patriotism the ordeal through which the nation passed.

This bibliography of over 600 entries is intended not only to commemo-

rate Iowa's valiant hour but also to make modern generations increasingly mindful of the role played by Iowans in the unifying struggle of 1861-1865. The people of Iowa are rightfully proud of their Civil War heritage; for if men of determination carved this state from the Western wilderness in the 1840's, men of devotion assuredly preserved it in the 1860's.

It is hoped the appearance of this *Reference Guide* may give rise to more and needed volumes on Iowa's participation in the Civil War. Particularly is this need acute in the case of regimental and civilian reminiscences. Only through the publication of wartime letters, diaries, and reminiscences can we learn the intimate story of the sectional struggle and those who were part of it. Iowans can perform no simpler yet more lasting service in this commemorative period than in searching their attics, basements, old trunks and desks for these materials. If any such collections are uncovered, please alert the State Historical Society of Iowa of their existence.

Three points should be borne in mind in using this bibliography. First, many of the works cited (especially regimental studies) are so scarce that in some instances only one copy is known to exist. If a desired volume is not available in your local library, queries should be directed to the State Historical Society of Iowa in Iowa City. In cases where volumes were published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, the initials SHSI will be found in parentheses with the place and date of publication.

Secondly, the entries herein are grouped under eleven headings:

Slavery in Iowa	Singular Events at Home and
John Brown in Iowa	Afield
Lincoln and Iowa	Relief Agencies from Iowa
Iowa and the Civil War — General	Southern and Copperhead
Civilian Leaders	Sentiment in Iowa
Military Leaders	The Grand Army of the
Regimental Histories and	Republic
Reminiscences	

Where applicable, cross-references are included to facilitate research. In some instances it may be necessary to consult several headings for complete references on particular subjects. General readers and students new to the field can obtain better results by starting with the fourth heading: Iowa and the Civil War — General.

Thirdly, for the sake of brevity short titles have been incorporated for

those volumes cited frequently in the bibliography. The following key explains the short titles used:

Alexander, *Chickasaw and Howard Counties* — Alexander, W. E. *History of Chickasaw and Howard Counties* (Decorah, 1883).

Annals — *Annals of Iowa* have been published in three series, distinguished in this listing by the figures (1), (2), and (3).

Annals of Iowa (First Series), 12 vols. (SHSI, Iowa City, 1863-1874).

Annals of Iowa (Second Series), 1882-1884. (SHSI, Iowa City) 3 vols. SHSI, Iowa City) 1882-1884.

Annals of Iowa (Third Series, 1895 — Published in Des Moines.

Aurner, *Cedar County* — Aurner, C. Ray, ed., *A Topical History of Cedar County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910).

Brown, *American Patriotism* — Brown, Leonard, *American Patriotism* (Des Moines, 1869).

Chappell, *Buchanan County* — Chappell, H. C., and K. J., *History of Buchanan County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914).

Corbit, *Jones County* — Corbit, R. M., *History of Jones County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910).

Hart, *Butler County* — Hart, Irving M., *History of Butler County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914).

Historical Record — *Iowa Historical Record*, 18 vols., (SHSI, Iowa City, 1885-1902). This was a continuation of the *Annals of Iowa* by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Iowa Journal — *Iowa Journal of History* (58 vols., Iowa City, 1903-1960).

The *Iowa Historical Record* was supplanted by this quarterly. Under its three titles the State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a quarterly for 91 years.

MOLLUS — Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, followed by the particular state commandery that published the recollections. Titles of the volumes varied with each commandery, such as Iowa's *War Sketches and Incidents* and Illinois' *Military Essays and Recollections*.

National Tribune — Washington, (D. C.) *National Tribune*. At the turn of the century this well-known newspaper ran a series of personal recollections. Many were written by Iowa veterans.

Payne, *Story County* — Payne, W. O., *History of Story County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1911).

Throne, "Letters," *Iowa Journal* — Throne, Mildred, ed., "Letters from Shiloh," *Iowa Journal*, 52: 235-80 (1954).

War Sketches — *War Sketches and Incidents as Related by Companions of the Iowa Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (2 vols., Des Moines, 1893-1898).

In an article such as this, it is not customary to acknowledge outside assistance. Yet the compiler would be woefully remiss if he did not extend his sincere thanks to two persons who contributed much to the final product. Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa and member of the Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission, laid the groundwork for this bibliography with his detailed *Iowa History Reference Guide* published by the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1952. His encouragement in other, numerous ways cannot be overestimated. Mr. Charles E. Dornbusch of the New York City Public Library took time out from his painstaking revision of the *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War* (originally published in 1913) to contribute a large number of the regimental reminiscences. The first volumes of his up-to-date *Bibliography*, sponsored by the Emily E. F. Skeel Fund, will be published in the fall of 1961. Both of these gentlemen merit appreciation gratefully rendered.

Some Iowans may feel a bit skeptical at a Southerner undertaking a study of a Northern state's role in the Civil War. But in a sense this is the spirit of the Civil War Centennial. Time has cleansed the tragedy and bitterness from the conflict of the 1860's. Today we commemorate without prejudice this era of courage, drama, and inspiration — a period packed with all the ingredients that, in molding us together, continues yet to sustain us. People of the North and South, for example, can and should take equal pride in Pickett's Virginians assaulting at Gettysburg and in Crocker's Iowans charging at Shiloh.

For, after all, were not both Americans then? Are not both Americans still?

SLAVERY IN IOWA

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A CIVIL WAR READING LIST FOR IOWANS

How many books have been written on the Civil War? No accurate count exists, but rough estimates place the number in excess of 40,000 volumes. If the present publishing trend continues through the centennial years and beyond, that number may well double before the flood abates.

Obviously, hundreds of these works contribute nothing new save personal conjecture and interpretation. But the very mass of literature is so overwhelming as to plague order librarians and readers alike who seek the better, more authoritative treatments of the war, its battles and its leaders. It seems appropriate, therefore, to add as an appendix to the Civil War bibliography of Iowa a critical listing of those works most in demand and most consulted by historians in the field.

Space limitations precluded a full listing of every study of real value. Moreover, in some instances deserving works have been omitted in order to restrict titles to those still in print. Any evaluation of a study is essentially a matter of personal opinion; thus, the comments contained herein are as open to challenge as they are to agreement.

GENERAL WORKS

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A survey, largely military, of the war from the Northern viewpoint, and written by the most popular present-day author in the field.

Civil War History (published quarterly by the State University of Iowa). Each issue contains documented articles by leading Civil War historians, plus book reviews, bibliographical columns, notes and queries section, and other features.

Coulter, E. Merton, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, LSU Press, 1950). A leading Southern historian dis-

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- Craven, Avery O., *The Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago: Un. of Chicago, 1957). An acknowledged authority in his field, Dr. Craven presents a provocative interpretation of the events leading to war.
- Donald, David, ed., *Why the North Won the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1960). Five historians (four of them Northerners) advance their individual and differing beliefs for the ultimate triumph of the Union. Not recommended as reading for Unreconstructed Rebels.
- Dowdey, Clifford, *The Land They Fought For* (New York: Doubleday, 1955). Staunchly pro-Lee and anti-Davis, Mr. Dowdey intertwines opinion with fact in this history of the Confederacy.
- Eaton, Clement, *A History of the Southern Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1954). Dr. Eaton presents a sweeping survey of the Confederacy and its civil and military problems. The author's conclusions at the end of each section are particularly good.
- Harwell, Richard, *The War They Fought* (New York: Longmans, 1960). Written by an established authority on bibliography, this volume is a combination of two top-sellers (*The Confederate Reader* and *The Union Reader*). Excerpts from scarce and unknown works give unique insights into North and South in wartime.
- Henry, Robert Selph, *The Story of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1960). Long recognized as the best summary of Southern military campaigns, this volume is an able supplement to Coulter's study of Confederate problems on the homefront.
- Johnson, R. U., and Buel, C. C., eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols. New York: Yoseloff, 1956). Originally published in the 1880's, these profusely illustrated volumes contain battle reminiscences by high-ranking officers who lived long enough to participate in the literary war of post-1865. The work must be read with caution, since generals inevitably capitalize on hindsight.
- Jones, Virgil C., *The Civil War at Sea: The Blockaders* (New York: Holt, 1960). The first of three proposed volumes on the roles of the navies, this work affords fast reading on the highlights of the sea campaigns.

Milhollen, Hurst D., ed., *Divided We Fought* (New York: Macmillan, 1956). The best one-volume pictorial history of the war. Complementing protographs and sketches is an enlightening narrative by David Donald.

Milhollen, Hurst D., ed., *They Who Fought Here* (New York: Macmillan, 1959). Combine the talents of the authority on Civil War illustrations — Mr. Milhollen, with the undisputed champion of the common soldier — Dr. Bell I. Wiley. Mix well the selected pictures of one with the skillfully narrated text of the other. The result is a graphic picture of the men in the ranks.

Miller, Francis T., ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (10 vols. in 5. New York: Yoseloff, 1957). This set, first published in 1911, is the largest printed collection of Mathew Brady photographs. Unfortunately, both this work and *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* were republished by the offset method; illustrations in both consequently tend to be fuzzy.

Nevins, Allan, *Ordeal of the Union* (2 vols. New York: Scribner, 1947).

———, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (2 vols. New York: Scribner, 1950).

———, *The War for the Union* (2 vols. New York: Scribner, 1959-1960).

Winner of two Pulitzer Prizes, Mr. Nevins demonstrates throughout these six of ten proposed volumes a mastery of historical technique. The study treats only of Northern political history, but it does so with such adroitness that events on the battlefields seem secondary.

Owsley, Frank L., *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago: Un. of Chicago, 1959). Why the South failed to attain the one ingredient it had to have for victory — European intervention on the side of the Confederacy, is dexterously presented in this classic study of Southern diplomacy.

Randall, James G., and Donald, David, *Our Divided Nation* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961). This volume is a new, revised edition of Dr. Randall's *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, which for years has been the standard college text for the period. The work deservedly remains the outstanding single volume for the 1850-1877 era.

Ronald, Charles P., *The Confederacy* (Chicago: Un. of Chicago, 1960).

On the theory that a nation based on states' rights and agriculture could not endure, the author summarizes the causes for the Confederacy's downfall. The emphasis here is on politics.

Turner, George E., *Victory Rode the Rails* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953). This is the better of two extant volumes on railroads during the war. An equally good study for Southern lines only is Robert C. Black's *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: Un. of North Carolina, 1952).

West, Richard S., Jr., *Mr. Lincoln's Navy* (New York: Longmans, 1957). Professor of history at the Naval Academy, Dr. West recounts in fast-moving style the basic campaigns of the Federal navy. A more concise treatment of the same subject is James M. Merrill's *The Rebel Shore* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

Wiley, Bell Irvin, *The Life of Billy Yank* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952).

———, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943).

These two volumes are unquestionably the definitive study of the common soldier in the struggle. Both are based in large part on unpublished letters, diaries and reminiscences.

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES — NORTHERN

For analyses of the generals, and the roles each played in the total war effort, the following works are available:

Catton, Bruce, *Glory Road* (New York: Doubleday, 1952); *Mr. Lincoln's Army* (New York: Doubleday, 1949); *A Stillness at Appomattox* (New York: Doubleday, 1954). This highly popular trilogy on the Army of the Potomac characterizes the generals in the East and, through the use of regimental histories, provides human insights into the obscure bluecoats who did the fighting and dying. Of the three books, *A Stillness at Appomattox* is the superior.

Williams, Kenneth P., *Lincoln Finds A General* (5 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1949-1959). A work of prodigious research and laborious detail, these volumes carry the story of the Federal armies East and West through the fall of 1863. The author was a man of strong feelings who too often tended to overpraise generals he liked and to upbraid strongly those who failed to meet his standards.

Williams, T. Harry, *Lincoln and His Generals* (New York: Knopf, 1952). One of the foremost Civil War historians clearly and skillfully discusses the top brass in the Federal armies and the difficulties Lincoln had with each of them. This is highly recommended reading, especially for those entering the field of military history.

Listed below by subjects are the better biographies of Northern leaders:

BUTLER, BENJAMIN F. Several writers have tried to recount accurately the story of "Beast" Butler, the politician-general who incurred through his wartime actions the wrath of people North and South. To date, none have succeeded. The best study available is Hans L. Trefousse, *Ben Butler* (New York: Twayne, 1957); close behind it is Robert S. Holzman, *Stormy Ben Butler* (New York: Macmillan, 1954).

CUSTER, GEORGE. Jay Monaghan's *Custer* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1959) is the most balanced study of the flamboyant cavalryman who became a general at the age of twenty-three.

GRANT, ULYSSES S. In 1950 Lloyd Lewis published the first of three planned volumes on Grant: *Captain Sam Grant* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950). Lewis died midway through research on the next volume. Bruce Catton agreed to complete the set, and his *Grant Moves South* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960) is a worthy continuation of Grant's life through the Vicksburg campaign. J. F. C. Fuller, the noted British military analyst, has also written two commendable studies of Grant, both recently republished by Indiana University Press: *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant* and *Grant and Lee: A Study in Personality and Leadership*.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM. No other American has been the subject of so many studies as Lincoln. Yet few of the countless volumes contribute much to our further knowledge or understanding of the Great Emancipator. The outstanding multi-volume study is James G. Randall, *Lincoln the President* (4 vols. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945-1955); the most revealing single volume is Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Knopf, 1952). While Carl Sandburg's six-volume study has merit, it reflects too much of the author's romanticism. Of interest and unusual scope is Ralph G. Newman, ed., *Lincoln for the Ages* (New York: Doubleday, 1960),

a collection of some seventy-five essays by the leading Lincoln scholars of our times. In addition to other works mentioned, T. Harry Williams' *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison: Un. of Wisconsin, 1961) and William B. Hesseltine's *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York: Knopf, 1948) are above-average treatises.

MCCLELLAN, GEORGE B. Although an overly sympathetic treatment of one of Lincoln's great disappointments, Warren W. Hassler's *George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1957) is the most thorough study of "Little Mac."

SHERMAN, WILLIAM T. Recently reissued, Lloyd Lewis's *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York: Harcourt, 1958) is the leading study of the fiery Ohioan. Running a close second, and also available in a new edition, is B. H. Liddell Hart's *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* (New York: Praeger, 1959).

STEVENS, THADDEUS. This Radical demagogue who led the congressional fight against Lincoln and who railroaded Andrew Johnson to impeachment charges defies objective treatment by biographies. The definitive study of Stevens is yet to be written; the better of several works published to date is Ralph Korngold, *Thaddeus Stevens* (New York: Harcourt, 1955).

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES — SOUTHERN

Three available works offer excellent sketches of Southern military leaders and their participation in the war:

Freeman, Douglas S., *Lee's Lieutenants* (3 vols. New York: Scribner, 1942-1944). This is the most exhaustive study ever written of an army and the men who led it and its corps. No writer can ever improve on this history of the Army of Northern Virginia.

Horn, Stanley F., *The Army of Tennessee* (Norman: Un. of Oklahoma, 1953). The only modern study of the Confederacy's Western army, the work offers poignant views of such commanders as Braxton Bragg, Joseph E. Johnston, and John Bell Hood.

Warner, Ezra J., *Generals in Gray* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1959). Sketches and illustrations of the 425 men who attained the rank of general in the Confederate armies makes this a necessary reference.

For individual leaders, the following are the better works available:

BEAUREGARD, P. G. T. T. Harry Williams, *Beauregard: Napoleon in*

Gray (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1955) is at present the unchallenged source, and most researched study.

DAVIS, JEFFERSON. A scholarly and comprehensive study of the Confederate president remains to be written. Two recent volumes by Hudson Strode (New York: Harcourt, 1955-1959), while possessed of flawless grammar, nevertheless are unbalanced and pedantic. Earlier, out-of-print biographies by William E. Dodd, Robert W. Winston and Robert McElroy present more accurate and less sentimental pictures. Davis's political problems are discussed in a well-written but also out-of-print treatise by Rembert W. Patrick, *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*.

FORREST, NATHAN BEDFORD. Slave trader, cavalry leader *par excellence*, and founder of the Ku Klux Klan, "Old Bedford" was an unusual, but unusually exciting, figure. Robert Selph Henry's "*First with the Most*" *Forrest* (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer, 1961) effectively removes the man from much of the myth that has long shrouded his true nature and exploits.

JACKSON, THOMAS J. The incomparable "Stonewall" Jackson has been the subject of three outstanding biographies. Newest among the trio is Lenoir Chambers' farsighted *Stonewall Jackson* (2 vols. New York: Morrow, 1960). For pure readability, Frank E. Vandiver's *Mighty Stonewall* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957) is unexcelled. On the other hand, many military students still consider as the most accurate portrait of "Old Jack" G. F. R. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* (New York: Longmans, 1960), originally published in 1890.

JOHNSTON, JOSEPH E. Gilbert E. Govan and James Livingood, *A Different Valor* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956) is the only modern study of the enigmatic "Uncle Joe." Notwithstanding its detail and heavy documentation, the study is as pro-Johnston as the commander's own memoirs, *Narrative of Military Operations*, edited by Frank E. Vandiver (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1959).

LEE, ROBERT E. Awarded the Pulitzer Prize, Douglas S. Freeman's *R. E. Lee* (4 vols. New York: Scribner, 1934-1935) has often been termed the best biography in American literature.

LONGSTREET, JAMES. Two works are available on "Lee's War Horse,"

the giant who commanded the famed First Corps. D. B. Sanger and T. R. Hay have co-authored a penetrating study, *James Longstreet* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1952), that elevates "Old Pete" from much of the censure of past generations. Longstreet's memoirs — detailed, prejudiced, and provocative — have also been annotated and republished: *From Manassas to Appomattox*, edited by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1960).

Among the scores of new releases, the following stand out as worthwhile or stimulating contributions:

Battles of the Civil War [Kurz & Allison prints] (Little Rock: Pioneer Press, 1960).

Boatner, Mark M., III, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York: McKay, 1959).

Catton, Bruce, *The American Heritage Picture Book of the Civil War* (New York: Doubleday, 1960).

Dawson, Sarah Morgan, *A Confederate Girl's Diary*, edited by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1960).

Eisenschiml, Otto, *The Hidden Face of the Civil War* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961).

———, *Why the Civil War?* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958).

Esposito, Vincent, ed., *The West Point Atlas of American Wars* (2 vols. New York: Praeger, 1959).

Fay, Edwin H., *This Infernal War*, edited by Bell I. Wiley (Austin: Un. of Texas, 1958).

Jones, Katharine M., *Heroines of Dixie* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1955).

Kean, R. G. H., *Inside the Confederate Government*, edited by Edward Younger (New York: Oxford University, 1957).

McKittrick, Eric L., *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago: Un. of Chicago, 1960).

Sharkey, Robert P., *Money, Class, & Party: An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959).

Silber, Irwin, ed., *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University, 1960).

Tucker, Glenn, *High Tide at Gettysburg* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958).

THE CAMPAIGN CULMINATING IN THE FALL OF VICKSBURG: March 29 - July 4, 1863

*By Edwin C. Bearss**

Following the failure of the "Bayou Expeditions," the second phase of his campaign to reduce Vicksburg, Major General Ulysses S. Grant was thrust upon the horns of a dilemma. He could return to Memphis and resume the drive down the Mississippi Central Railroad; he could launch an assault across the river to storm the defenses of "Fortress" Vicksburg; or he could move his army down the Louisiana shore and attempt to cross the Mississippi River south of the Confederate stronghold. The first of these alternatives, although it was strongly endorsed by Major General William T. Sherman, Grant rejected as a step backward; the second was laid aside as too costly. Grant therefore on March 29 issued orders for the Army of the Tennessee to begin its march down the west side of the Mississippi.

Within a month, Grant had concentrated two (Major Generals John A. McClernand's and James B. McPherson's) of his four corps near Hard Times, Louisiana, 30 miles south of Vicksburg. In the meantime, eight of Rear Admiral David D. Porter's gunboats and seven transports had run past the Vicksburg batteries and rendezvoused with Grant's army. To draw the Confederates' attention away from Grand Gulf, where they planned to cross the Mississippi River, the Union generals undertook and carried out a series of well-coordinated diversions. Among these were the Greenville Expedition, Sherman's demonstration against Snyder's Bluff, and a number of cavalry and infantry raids. The two most important of these raids were led by Colonels Benjamin H. Grierson and Abel D. Streight, and were directed against Confederate communication lines from Georgia to Mississippi.

On April 29, Porter's ironclads attacked the Confederate fortifications at Grand Gulf. The Union navy had been given the mission of knocking out the Southerners' big guns, thus paving the way for Grant's amphibious attack. Porter's gunboats, however, were repulsed. Undaunted, Grant had Porter, under cover of darkness, run his vessels past the Grand Gulf batteries. The next day (April 30), the Army of the Tennessee made an un-

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opposed crossing of the Mississippi River at Bruinsburg. Driving rapidly inland, Grant's soldiers encountered Brigadier General John S. Bowen's Confederate legions west of Port Gibson. For 18 hours, Bowen's badly outnumbered command fought a brilliant holding action. In the end, the Confederates were forced to break contact and fall back across the Bayou Pierre and Big Black River. Grant's bridgehead was made secure by his victory at Port Gibson.

The Union general now halted his army, while bringing up supplies and waiting for Sherman's corps to arrive from Milliken's Bend. By May 8, the Federals were ready to renew the advance. Grant would not march directly on Vicksburg. Instead, he would swing to the northeast and cut the railroad linking Vicksburg and Jackson at Edwards. If successful, Grant would not only capture Vicksburg but, more important, he would destroy Pemberton's formidable army. Moving out of the bridgehead, the Army of the Tennessee marched in three columns — McPherson on the right, Sherman in the center, and McClernand on the left.

At Raymond, on the 12th, McPherson's column, in a bitter engagement, defeated Brigadier General John Gregg's brigade. This battle caused Grant to change his plans. Gregg's skill in handling his command led McPherson to overestimate his strength. In addition, the Union brass had received reports that the Confederates were concentrating a force in Jackson to support Pemberton's Vicksburg army. Grant therefore decided to move against the Jackson Confederates. Two days later on the 14th, McPherson's and Sherman's corps captured Jackson. The concentration which Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston was endeavoring to effect at Jackson was scattered to the winds. Leaving Sherman's troops to destroy the railroads and war industries in Jackson, Grant turned McClernand's and McPherson's corps toward Vicksburg.

In the meantime, General Pemberton had moved out of the Vicksburg defenses. The morning of the 15th found Pemberton at Edwards. During the day, the Confederate army, 23,000 strong, moved to attack Grant's supply line near Dillon's plantation. Pemberton's march was poorly organized; nightfall found the head of the Confederate column camped at Mrs. Ellison's, a number of miles from its objective.

Unlike the Southerners, the 32,000 Union soldiers had made an easy march on the 15th. The Federals had moved along three roads which converged near Edwards. Darkness found Brigadier General Alvin P. Hovey's

division of McClernand's command and McPherson's corps bivouacked near Bolton on the Jackson road; McClernand with two of his divisions was camped on the Middle road, three miles south of Bolton; two more Union divisions (one belonging to McClernand's corps, the other to Sherman's) halted on the Raymond road.

The next morning, the three Union columns cautiously resumed their advance. About the same time, Pemberton received orders from Johnston, his superior, to reverse his line of march. Johnston wished the two Confederate armies to join forces before giving Grant battle. But by the time Pemberton received this dispatch, his troops were in contact with the Union divisions advancing via the Middle and Raymond roads. Nevertheless, Pemberton tried to comply with Johnston's orders. Two of Pemberton's three divisions (Bowen's and Loring's) were quickly formed into line of battle covering the Raymond road; a regimental combat team was posted on the Middle road. Not knowing that McPherson's powerful column was marching along the Jackson road, Pemberton made no effort to protect his left flank. Having made these dispositions, Pemberton prepared to carry out Johnston's instructions. Before the Confederates were able to disengage, McPherson's column was sighted. Pemberton's third division, Major General Carter L. Stevenson's, took position on Champion Hill. Stevenson's mission was to protect the Southerners' left.

Grant, who had arrived on the field, ordered McPherson to carry the Confederate position. Quickly deploying the divisions commanded by Major General John A. Logan and Brigadier General Alvin P. Hovey, McPherson moved to the attack. Pressing forward, Hovey's division attacked Stevenson's right, while Logan assaulted his left. By 1:30 p. m., the bluecoats had captured the crest of Champion Hill, the Crossroad beyond, and 16 Confederate cannon. Furthermore, Stevenson's division had been terribly mauled.

All this time, there had been only slight skirmishing on the Middle and Raymond roads. McClernand, operating under orders from Grant "to move cautiously," had kept a tight rein on the Union troops in this sector. Likewise, Major General William W. Loring's and Brigadier General John S. Bowen's Confederate soldiers had maintained a passive attitude while Pemberton's left was cut to pieces.

It was about 2 p. m. before Bowen's combat-ready division moved to Stevenson's support. Surging forward, Bowen's Arkansans and Missourians

shattered Hovey's Union division, recaptured a number of the Confederate cannon, regained the Crossroad, and the crest of Champion Hill. For a few moments, it looked as if the Confederates would be able to cut Grant's army in two. Unfortunately for the Southerners, Loring had not moved to Bowen's support as directed by Pemberton. There were no reserves available to exploit Bowen's success. To make matters worse, a fresh Union division led by Brigadier General Marcellus M. Crocker had arrived on the field. Supported by the fire of 16 cannon, Crocker's men moved into the breach and checked Bowen's onslaught.

Having recovered the initiative, the Federals again ascended Champion Hill, pushing the Confederates before them. The crest of the hill and the Crossroad beyond, along with the Confederate guns, changed hands for a third and final time. In addition, McClernand had now received instructions from Grant to attack. Pressing forward, McClernand's soldiers easily brushed aside the Confederate troops manning the roadblock on the Middle road.

Pemberton, realizing that the day was lost, ordered his men to fall back to the Big Black River. Bowen's division and Stevenson's mauled command were able to break contact with the foe and retreat across Bakers Creek. Loring's division, which covered Pemberton's retreat, was unable to withdraw across the creek. Loring, believing that it would be impossible to rejoin Pemberton, retreated to Crystal Springs.

Having won the decisive battle of the Vicksburg campaign, Grant's Army of the Tennessee slept upon the field. The great victory had cost the Federals 410 dead, 1,844 wounded, and 187 missing. Pemberton's incomplete tabulation of his losses listed 381 killed, 1,018 wounded, and 2,441 missing. In addition, Loring, during his rapid march to Crystal Springs, had seen his division melt from 7,700 to 4,800, as many stragglers dropped out. The Confederates also saw 27 of their cannon fall into the Federals' hands.

Although many Confederate authorities did not realize it, the battle of Champion Hill had sealed the fate of "Fortress" Vicksburg. On the morning of May 17, General Pemberton ordered General Bowen to hold the line of fortifications covering the Big Black Bridge. Pemberton wanted the bridgehead held pending news of the fate of General Loring's division. The Confederate commander did not know that Loring's division had been cut off and was en route to Crystal Springs.

In the meantime, General Grant's Army of the Tennessee had resumed its

drive on Vicksburg. By mid-morning, General McClernand's XIII Corps had taken position in front of the Confederate fortifications guarding the Big Black Bridge. At the same time, General Sherman's XV Corps was moving on Bridgeport, while General McPherson's XVII Corps was concentrating at Amsterdam. Before McPherson's and Sherman's troops could get into position, McClernand's had attacked and routed the Confederate troops holding the bridgehead.

The Southerners, after burning the bridges, fell back into the Vicksburg defenses. Grant immediately put his pioneers to work throwing bridges across the Big Black. By the next morning, all the bridges had been completed. Crossing the Big Black, the Army of the Tennessee rapidly pushed on. Sherman's and McPherson's corps moved along the Bridgeport road; McClernand's advanced on the Jackson and Baldwin's Ferry roads. Night-fall on the 18th found Grant's army near the defenses of Vicksburg. On the right, Sherman's troops were in contact with the Confederate outposts.

Pemberton's defeated legions had reached Vicksburg the previous evening, where they were greeted by two fresh divisions led by Major Generals John H. Forney and Martin L. Smith. These two units had held the Vicksburg defenses while Pemberton was in the field. Without hesitating a moment, Pemberton ordered his 32,000 men into the earthworks. Consisting of nine strong points connected by a line of trenches, the works protecting Vicksburg from a land attack were about nine miles in extent. Pemberton knew that the Union army was advancing by way of the Jackson and Bridgeport roads, so he ordered Smith's and Forney's troops to hold the rifle pits on the left and center. General Stevenson's division, which had been roughly handled at Champion Hill, was given the task of defending the Confederate right. Bowen's combat-tested troops were to constitute Pemberton's strategic reserve. Colonel Edward Higgins' River Defense forces would continue to guard the river front.

On the morning of the 19th, Sherman's corps succeeded in establishing contact with units of Admiral Porter's fleet north of the city. The Confederate defenders were now isolated with the Union army on one side, the navy on the other. Made bold by his victories at Champion Hill and the Big Black, Grant scheduled an assault on Vicksburg for the afternoon of the 19th.

Only Sherman's corps had established itself close to the Confederate works. Therefore, Sherman was the only Union corps commander who

was able to drive his attack home. Sherman hurled Major General Frank P. Blair's division against the Confederate defenses in the Stockade Redan sector held by units from Forney's and Smith's commands. The dense abatis in front of the Southerners' works served to throw Blair's battle lines into confusion. Soldiers from three of Blair's regiments reached the ditch fronting Stockade Redan, but they were unable to mount the parapet. The rest of Blair's troops, unable to breast the Confederates' fire, were pinned down. Throughout the remainder of the long, hot afternoon, the bluecoats and butternuts blazed away at one another.

Many of the Union soldiers fired all their ammunition. Volunteers were sent to the rear to bring forward additional cartridges. One of these, Muscician Orion P. Howe, age 14 years, was awarded the Medal of Honor for carrying out this hazardous assignment. On the other portions of the front, McClernand's and McPherson's troops established themselves within several hundred yards of the Confederate earthworks.

At dark, Blair withdrew his men from their proximity to the Confederate works. To harass the Union efforts to pull back, the Southerners set fire to several buildings near the redan. Thus, Grant's first attempt to take Vicksburg by storm had ended in failure. This attack had cost the Federals more than 900 casualties, most of them in Blair's division. Confederate losses totaled less than 100 officers and men.

Undaunted by this repulse, Grant planned a second assault on the defenses of Vicksburg. Admiral Porter agreed to co-operate with the army. The attack was set for 10 a. m. on May 22. For several hours before the beginning of the onslaught, the Union gunners (both the army and the navy) blasted the butternuts' defenses with a fierce bombardment.

At 10 a. m., the guns suddenly fell silent and the Union infantry surged forward. Sherman's XV Corps, spearheaded by 150 volunteers, again drove against the Stockade Redan. In the Jackson road sector, McPherson's troops attacked Forney's division defending the Great Redoubt and the 3d Louisiana Redan. Within a few minutes, the hard-fighting Confederates had stopped McPherson's and Sherman's soldiers. McClernand's bluecoats attacked the Railroad Redoubt and the 2d Texas Lunette. At the redoubt, the Federals scored a penetration. The 30th Alabama was forced to fall back. McClernand, however, had committed all his troops. To exploit his success, McClernand would have to have reinforcements. He called upon Grant for assistance. Besides ordering one of McPherson's divisions to McClernand's

support, Grant directed McPherson and Sherman to renew the attack. This they did, but with no more success than before. Furthermore, Pemberton had thrown in his reserves. Counterattacking, Waul's Texas Legion recovered the Railroad Redoubt, and the breach in the Confederate lines was sealed. Pemberton's Confederates had rebuffed Grant in his second effort to storm Vicksburg. In the fighting on the 22d, the Federals had suffered 3,199 casualties; the Southerners had lost less than 500.

Following this check, Grant determined to lay siege to the Vicksburg Confederates. At this time, Grant's army mustered about 45,000 strong. If Grant were to besiege the city, while fending off the armies which the Southern authorities would assemble to relieve Pemberton, he would have to be reinforced. In answer to Grant's call for help, troops were rushed to the Mississippi Theatre of Operations from points as far off as Kentucky and Missouri. By the middle of June, Grant's army had increased to over 77,000 officers and men.

In the meantime, the Federals had forged an iron ring around Vicksburg. Ammunition, food, and reinforcements were cut off from Pemberton's beleaguered army. On the river, the Union navy reigned supreme. Thousands of shells were hurled into the city by the Union sailors. In addition, the gunboats held at bay the Confederate forces attempting to relieve Vicksburg from the Trans-Mississippi. At the same time, the Union engineers pushed 13 approach trenches toward the Confederate earthworks. Advance batteries were established. Soon, the Federal artillery was in complete ascendancy. On June 25 and again on July 1, mines were detonated under the 3d Louisiana Redan. After the first of these explosions, the Federals launched a fierce attack. Bringing up the crack 6th Missouri, the Confederates checked this Union thrust. On July 4, when Vicksburg surrendered, the bluecoats were preparing to place mines under a number of Confederate strong points.

During the siege, there was hostile activity during the daylight hours, but informal truces and fraternization at night. Since these favored the besiegers, the Confederate officers tried to stop them. When they were unable to prevent the fraternization, they tried to control it. Near Stockade Redan, a "trysting place" was located. Here, men who had relatives and friends in the opposing armies were allowed to meet in the presence of officers.

Finally, on July 2, Pemberton became convinced that the large army led by General Joseph E. Johnston would not come to his relief. Confronted by

a dwindling supply of food, and his troops' loss of the will to fight, the Confederate general decided to approach Grant and see on what terms he could surrender. On July 3, Pemberton and Grant met to talk over possible terms for the capitulation of Vicksburg. Grant demanded "unconditional surrender," and the meeting broke up. During the night, Grant modified his terms. He would not insist on an "unconditional surrender." Pemberton accepted Grant's new proposition. At 10 a. m. on July 4, the Vicksburg garrison, 29,491 strong, marched out of their works and stacked their arms in token of surrender.

DIARY OF CAPTAIN JOHN N. BELL OF CO. E, 25TH IOWA INFANTRY, AT VICKSBURG

INTRODUCTION

The 25th Iowa Infantry Regiment was organized at Camp McKean, near Mount Pleasant, Iowa. The ten companies which were to constitute the regiment reported to the camp in the period between August 2 and September 1, 1862. On September 27, the soldiers of the 25th Iowa were mustered into Federal service. At this time, the regiment had an aggregate strength of 972 officers and men. Before being ordered into the field, 23 additional men enlisted in the regiment. Colonel George A. Stone was assigned to the command of the regiment by Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood.¹

Colonel Stone had seen previous service as a 1st Lieutenant in the 1st Iowa Infantry and as a major in the 4th Iowa Cavalry. Stone, a firm disciplinarian, instituted a rugged training program. By the time the regiment was ordered out of the state, the soldiers "had acquired a fair knowledge of the drill and discipline so essential to effective service in the field."

During the first week of November, the 25th Iowa was sent down the Mississippi. After a brief stop at St. Louis, Missouri, the vessels carrying the Iowans continued on to Helena, Arkansas. Here, the soldiers disembarked and went into camp.²

Immediately following their arrival at Helena, the Iowans were assigned to the District of Eastern Arkansas. Brigadier General Alvin P. Hovey was in charge of the district. On November 16, the regiment was marched to the levee and boarded transports. In accordance with the plans drawn up by General Hovey, a strong Union force was to ascend the Arkansas River and destroy the Post of Arkansas which the Confederates were fortifying. Low water in the Arkansas and White rivers frustrated Hovey's plans and his

¹ *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion, Together with Historical Sketches of Volunteer Organizations*, Vol. III (Des Moines, 1910), 903. Colonel Stone, who was 28 years old at this time, called Mount Pleasant, Iowa, his home. *Ibid.*, 918.

² *Ibid.*, 903; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, 1908), 1175.

expeditionary force was compelled to return to Helena without accomplishing its objective.³

In the meantime, Brigadier General Frederick Steele had reached Helena and assumed command of the District of Eastern Arkansas. Shortly thereafter (on December 9), Steele was superseded by Brigadier General Willis A. Gorman. Gorman immediately organized the troops stationed in the district into two divisions. Steele was placed in charge of one of these divisions. Steele's division consisted of three brigades. The 1st Brigade was commanded by Brigadier General Frank P. Blair, the 2d by Brigadier General Charles E. Hovey, and the 3d by Brigadier General John M. Thayer. The 25th Iowa, along with the 3d Missouri, 12th Missouri, 17th Missouri, 31st Iowa, and 76th Ohio, was assigned to General Hovey's brigade.⁴

On December 22, the Iowans, along with the other units of Steele's division, boarded transports. The division had been assigned to accompany Major General William T. Sherman's amphibious thrust against "Fortress" Vicksburg. (This attack was being made in conjunction with Major General Ulysses S. Grant's drive down the Mississippi Central Railroad.) Proceeding down the Mississippi River, the Iowans landed at Johnson's plantation on the Yazoo River on December 26. During the period between December 26 and 31, the regiment was engaged in the Chickasaw Bayou operations.

Following his repulse at Chickasaw Bayou, Sherman re-embarked his men aboard transports. The amphibious force returned to Milliken's Bend. Here, Sherman was joined by Major General John A. McClernand. McClernand assumed command of the expedition and led it against the Post of Arkansas. On January 11, McClernand's troops forced the surrender of the Post of Arkansas.

During the period between January 17 and January 23, the 25th Iowa returned to the Vicksburg area. Along with the other units in General Steele's division, the Iowans camped at Young's Point, Louisiana. Here, they remained throughout the remainder of the winter of 1863.⁵

³ Edwin C. Bearss, "The Battle of the Post of Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, 240-241.

⁴ Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, 492, 498, 1175; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 812. (Cited hereafter as O. R.)

⁵ Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, 1175; *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, 903-904.

In the meantime, Grant's troops, in the face of slashing raids on their supply depots and communication lines by the Confederate cavalry, had been compelled to fall back on Memphis, Tennessee. Grant now determined to transfer most of the units which had been operating in north Mississippi to the Vicksburg area. As soon as this operation was completed, Grant sought to bypass Vicksburg and gain the high ground east of the city. Four projects (Grant's Canal, the Lake Providence Route, the Yazoo Pass Expedition, and the Steele's Bayou Expedition) were undertaken with this purpose in mind. All failed. Large working parties from the 25th Iowa were detailed to work on one of these — Grant's Canal. This was the canal that the Union engineers were trying to cut across the base of the De Soto Peninsula. If the canal had been successful, the Federals would have been able to bypass Vicksburg.

During this undertaking, the 25th Iowa:

. . . had suffered much from sickness, having much the same experience as all new regiments in that respect; but the records show that the fatalities from disease were not as great as in most of the other Iowa regiments which were encamped in the same unhealthy locality. Colonel Stone was noted for the care with which he looked after the health of his men, and provided everything available for their comfort, while exercising strict discipline and requiring them to observe such sanitary regulations as were possible under the conditions in which they were placed during the gloomy winter of 1863.⁶

General Grant, on March 29, issued orders for General McClernand's XIII Corps to occupy Richmond and New Carthage, Louisiana. At this stage of the conflict, it seemed that Grant's powerful Army of the Tennessee had been frustrated in its efforts to come to grips with the Confederate defenders of Vicksburg. This Union movement southward from Milliken's Bend down the west bank of the Mississippi River was to change drastically the strategic situation in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Two days after he had issued marching orders to McClernand, Grant visited General Sherman's Young's Point headquarters. Between them, the two leaders matured plans for an expedition to Greenville, Mississippi. Grant and Sherman hoped this foray would divert the Confederate authorities' attention away from McClernand's activities on the west side of the

⁶ *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, 904.

Mississippi. In addition, the Union force which was slated to be sent to Greenville was to carry the fire and sword to the fertile Deer Creek area. The Vicksburg commissary drew heavily on this area for the supplies used to feed the Confederate troops charged with the defense of the "Hill City."

As soon as Grant returned to his Milliken's Bend headquarters, Sherman drew up detailed instructions for the officer who was slated to command the Greenville Expedition. Since Brigadier General David Stuart's division had just returned from the ill-starred Steele's Bayou Expedition, Sherman decided to entrust the Greenville affair to General Steele's combat-wise division.⁷

* * *

CAPTAIN JOHN N. BELL

Captain John N. Bell was born in Ohio. At the time of his enlistment, Bell, who resided in Burlington, Iowa, was 28 years old. He was appointed a captain on July 21, 1862, and mustered into service on September 27. Bell was slightly wounded in the attack on the Post of Arkansas on January 11, 1863. During the Vicksburg campaign, Captain Bell kept a daily account of his activities.⁸

His grammar usage indicates that the captain was well educated. The few places that Bell used slang are enclosed in quotation marks and in other places use of slang seemed awkward to him.

Bell was well informed and evidently well read — knowing even the obscure folk tales of the South (*e. g.*, see story of "Old Dan Tucker"). His interest in events around him and in new places and scenery is wide. He took a scientific interest in the way the Negroes lived and the way they were treated.

Behind the facade of a good officer, an optimistic soldier, a well-informed, well-educated adventurer, interested in the experiences of war, was a sentimental, homesick man who wrote his wife long letters at every opportunity and who almost cried watching a group of children play.

⁷ O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 158. Steele had been advanced to the rank of major general in December, 1862.

⁸ *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, 927.

DIARY OF CAPTAIN JOHN N. BELL AT VICKSBURG

Camp before Vicksburg, Thursday April 2 [1863]; Embarked on "Emma No. 2;" left this evening for up the river; destination not known.

Friday, the 3d. Still on way up the river. Arrived at Lake Providence [Louisiana] at 1 A. M. Levees are cut in a number of places on the Louisiana side and country inundated. At 11 A. M. landed about 25 miles below Greenville on [the] Mississippi side of river, near where [Brigadier] General [Stephen G.] Burbridge's forces were defeated not long since.¹ As our whole division with two batteries of artillery are now here, we can pursue our reconnoissance without much hindrance.² Sent out two small bodies of cavalry and debarked to await their report concerning practicability of the road. Cavalry returned about 4 P. M. reporting roads impassable. Re-embarked in evening and awaited orders.³

Saturday, the 4th. Left the landing at 3 A. M. (The plantation, very beautiful one — is called the "Fanny Bullitt plantation") and landed 12 miles above in Washington Lake, formerly the bed of the Mississippi River. Debarked at 8 A. M. at the plantation of Mr. Worthington, two brothers of whom live here — large, finely finished and furnished residences.

At 10 A. M. invited in house and sang "Star Spangled Banner," accompanied by the piano played by Sergeant of 3d Missouri. Sent out cavalry scout. Returned at 1 P. M., route "no good."⁴ Ordered in boats again. Left the landing, steamed to Mississippi, and up to Greenville, arriving at 6 P. M. No orders to debark.

¹ The place where Steele's troops went ashore was Smith's Landing. Captain Bell was mistaken when he referred to Burbridge's defeat. During the second two weeks of February, Burbridge's brigade of the XIII Corps had operated in the Greenville area. On the 23d, Burbridge's bluecoats had met the Confederates at Deer Creek and Fish Lake Bridge, east of Greenville. In the skirmishing which ensued, Burbridge's troops had more than held their own. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 351, 352; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 173.

² One of Steele's regiments, the 30th Iowa, had been left at Young's Point.

³ The troopers had been sent to reconnoiter a road leading eastward to Deer Creek and the Douglas plantation. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 173.

⁴ Cavalry patrols were sent to see if the road leading eastward from the Worthington plantation to Deer Creek was practicable. *Ibid.*

Sunday, the 5th. Left Greenville at 4 this morning and again landed 1 mile higher up. Better indications of an advance than any time heretofore. Moved off the boats about 11 A. M. At 12 the order was given to advance — our regiment bringing up the rear. Marched at a rapid pace along a bayou leading up the river, and then turned into the interior, proceeded about 5 miles and were halted in order to repair a bridge, which the rebels had burned. Remained at our halting place all night.⁵

Monday, the 6th. Anniversary of the battle of Shiloh. We are the 2d brigade [in the line of march] today. Made sad havoc with sheep, corn, hogs on the adjoining plantation. Started at 8 A. M. and at 9 A. M. struck the road along Deer Creek. Marched 15 miles today, the march proving hard on the men, it being their first march. Passed splendid plantations along the route — plenty of negroes, a number of whom joined us, among whom was a man as white as myself, with straight hair, regular features and light whiskers. Passed at 12 M. the school house where 4 weeks ago [Lieutenant] Colonel [Samuel W.] Ferguson, who we are now pursuing, was defeated by General Burbridge.⁶ Colonel Ferguson with 500 infantry and two pieces of artillery are about ten hours march in advance of us, and we made a forced march to overtake him; not yet successful. Bivouacked in a cane brake for the night.⁷

Tuesday, the 7th. Commenced moving at 7 o'clock this morning, our brigade in advance, our regiment second. Marched at quick pace till 3:30 P. M. when the cavalry scouts on emerging from a cane brake were fired upon by five pieces of artillery. We halted, loaded our pieces. At 4 o'clock, we went forward on double quick and formed line of battle facing the enemy's position. Our artillery opened upon them and the enemy retired, crossing a bridge over Deer Creek, then burning the bridge. We formed continuous line of battle with two brigades, the remaining brigade held as

⁵ Two under strength regiments were left to guard the transports when the column pushed eastward. The bridge which the Confederates had burned spanned Fish Lake. On the night of the 5th, Steele's troops camped on the plantation owned by Major General Samuel G. French of the Confederate Army. *Ibid.*

⁶ General Burbridge's brigade had bested Colonel Ferguson's greyclads in a clash at this point (Smith and Hood's plantation) on February 23. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 351.

⁷ The division spent the night of the 6th near Taylor's plantation. A Confederate combat team led by Colonel Ferguson was charged with the defense of the fertile Deer Creek area.

reserve, and moved briskly forward, the artillery occasionally sending a shell after the rebs.⁸

At 5 P. M., the enemy having skedaddled, we now occupy their former camping ground — The officers of Company K, Lieutenant [John G.] Davison and myself occupying one of the negro shanties, on the door sill of which I sit as I write.⁹ The force of the enemy is now ascertained to be 500 infantry, 200 cavalry and five pieces of artillery. They continue firing with the cannon and they may disturb us during the night.¹⁰

The Rebs hung one of the negroes of this plantation this morning in the corn crib for saying something disagreeable to rebel ears. He is buried near the crib.¹¹ My feet are badly blistered tonight, and before the attack I could barely walk, but the excitement seemed to drive away the pain, but now I feel it sensibly.

Wednesday, the 8th. Slept comfortably all night, the rebels having left for good and escaped.¹² This morning we commenced to retire, our regiment being in the extreme advance. Proceeded at a good gait. The negroes — men, women and children — following us, the older ones carrying the knapsacks and blankets of the men. The orders were to burn all the cotton gins and corn cribs along the roads, also the bridges, run off all the mules,

⁸ Steele deployed General Charles E. Hovey's and Colonel Francis H. Manter's brigades in line of battle; General John M. Thayer's brigade was held in reserve. The Union attack was supported by the fire of Battery F, 2d Missouri Light Artillery, and the 4th Battery, Ohio Light Artillery. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 502. General Blair had been placed in command of a division on April 1. At that time, Colonel Manter assumed command of the brigade formerly led by Blair. Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, 498.

⁹ John G. Davison, a resident of Burlington, had been promoted to 2d Lieutenant on March 1. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 940.

¹⁰ The five Confederate guns (three 12-pounder howitzers and two 3-inch rifles) were manned by a section of Bledsoe's Missouri Battery and a section of Sengstak's Alabama Battery. In addition to the artillery, Ferguson's combat team included: the 40th Alabama Infantry, Bridges' Sharpshooter Battalion, and Companies G and F, Wirt Adams' Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 508.

¹¹ On learning of the Federal approach, the Negro had mistaken two of Ferguson's scouts for Yankees. Hailing them, he volunteered to guide them to the Southerners' camp. Before discovering his error, the slave told the two of the Rebels' strength and position. Next, he asked for a gun with which to kill his master (William F. Smith), and stated "he would knock down and rape any white women." The Negro was immediately executed. *Ibid.*, 509.

¹² Steele's troops spent the night of the 7th on Dr. Thomas' plantation; Ferguson's combat team had fallen back to Willis' plantation. *Ibid.*, 503-509.

cattle and horses, and take along all the darkies, all of which has been fully accomplished so far.¹³

At 4:30 P. M. as we were approaching our former camping ground of the 5th [Taylor's plantation], our cavalry was fired upon by a small party of guerrillas, all of whom then swam their horses across the creek. Two pieces of cannon were ordered to the front and fired two shells after the retreating rascals. The troops again moved forward to our old camping ground and bivouacked for the night.

Thursday, the 9th. Started this morning at 8 A.M.; marched at good pace. The only notable incidents today have been the enormous quantity of corn consumed, being estimated at 100,000 bushels and the great number of negroes who have followed us. My company have about 2 to each man. The confiscating of mules and horses continues to our entire satisfaction. We now have 38 extra mules in the regiment. We tonight encamp on a very fine plantation at the junction of the road with Deer Creek.¹⁴ I am sitting on the porch of one of the negro quarters (which are very comfortable). The 3d Missouri destroyed a set of stocks in which the negroes have been tied when being whipped.

Friday, the 10th. Moved off at about 9 this morning — went but a short distance until we had to stop and wait until all the teams, etc., had passed the bridge lately constructed, one of which upset the bridge and we had to wait its reconstruction. In the meantime, Colonel Ferguson of the rebels has been following us. About 11 A. M. Ferguson attacked our rear guard, mortally wounding one cavalry man.¹⁵

¹³ The news of Steele's invasion of the fertile Deer Creek area was not long in reaching the Confederate commander at Vicksburg (Major General Carter L. Stevenson). He ordered Brigadier General Stephen D. Lee to move to Ferguson's support with six regiments of infantry and a battalion of artillery. By daybreak on the 8th, the transports with Lee's troops aboard had reached Rolling Fork. During the forenoon, a staff officer reached Ferguson's Willis plantation command post with the information that Lee had disembarked his command at Rolling Fork.

About the time that Ferguson received the encouraging news regarding reinforcements, Steele sent out a cavalry patrol. The Union troopers were to reconnoiter the Confederate position at Willis'. These scouts, after learning of the arrival of Lee's brigade at Rolling Fork, returned to headquarters. Steele was informed of this interesting development. Taking cognizance of his long, vulnerable supply line, Steele decided not to risk a major engagement with the Rebels in the heart of the Delta. He realized that a minor setback would be disastrous. Steele accordingly gave the order to retire. *Ibid.*, 502-509,

¹⁴ The Federals camped for the night on the Smith and Hood plantation. *Ibid.*, 509.

¹⁵ This bridge was across Fish Lake.

The "Flying Dutchman" [Captain Clemens Landgraeber] soon put them to flight, and we were ordered back in line of battle; through a thick swamp we went, getting wet and muddy and coming out a short distance from our camping ground of last night; saw no rebels.¹⁶ We then retired and moved across the road on to General French's plantation (a class mate of General Steele, now in the rebel army).¹⁷ Here, on a fine, large open field we deployed [in] line of battle and awaited the enemy. After waiting a long time, and nothing but slight skirmishing occurring we were moved off across the bridge which was then destroyed.

[Captain Louis] Hoffmann's battery [the 4th Ohio] had been planted across the creek in a position to rake the enemy in coming down the lane. They came on and Hoffmann fired into them, but too soon. A little longer waiting and a great many of them would have been sent to — where they belong —. We then moved off and reached the boats at 5 P. M. where we are now lying awaiting orders to embark.

Saturday, the 11th. We still remain here [at Greenville] awaiting the arrival of transports, there being but 5 here at present.¹⁸

I forgot to mention that yesterday, the 10th, was prophesied to be the day upon which an awful battle was to have been fought — peace to ensue about the 28th inst. This is noteworthy from the fact that the man who prophesied (a private of the 4th Iowa Cavalry) died at the exact time he said he should — a great many believe in the story. Time will show. Two gunboats passed us far down the river today. Four more gunboats passed down this evening.

Sunday, the 12th. Three more gunboats passed down the river today. Evidently, something will be done at Vicksburg soon. Much rain last night. I got wet and had a hot fever, am not able to do duty. Two mails for our regiment today, large ones. No letter from my wife — none for 3 weeks. . . . understand today that we are to remain here instead of going to

¹⁶ Captain Landgraeber commanded Battery F, 2d Missouri Light Artillery. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 252.

¹⁷ French and Steele had graduated from West Point in the class of 1843. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray — Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 93; *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, Francis T. Miller, Ed., X (New York, 1911), 176.

¹⁸ As soon as the troops had disembarked on the 5th, six of the transports had returned to Young's Point. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 173.

Young's Point. In fact I believe this will be the main approach for infantry to Vicksburg. Wrote letter to wife.

Monday, the 13th. Yet very sick, took medicine, more fever. Our regiment was ordered out at 3 o'clock this morning for a little walk, with one day's rations. I could not go. Lieutenant Davison in charge of Company. Don't know where they went. Raining all day. Presume they will have a little brush with the rebels. Sorry I ain't along. I have eaten nothing since yesterday noon. The whole division went out today, taking a new route through Greenville and south, designing to surround the rebs — returned at 5 P. M. without seeing an armed rebel, bringing in negroes, mules and forage, also cattle and sheep.¹⁹

Generals Ross' and Quinby's divisions passed down last night on steamboats.²⁰ These were the troops engaged in the Yazoo Pass Expedition, consequently that project is abandoned. They were accompanied by 4 gunboats, 1 being ironclad.

Tuesday, the 14th. Heavy storm last night. Men all wet. No orders to move yet. Got permission from Colonel Stone to go on board the "Nevada" and get a berth, being sick; did so.²¹ More boats laden with troops have been passing today, also more gunboats. Lay in my berth all day; had fever.

Wednesday, the 15th. Feel a little better this A. M., but still quite weak. No news from below except that they are ready to commence bombarding Vicksburg. Another mail today — had letter from my wife.

Thursday, the 16th. Ten days more provisions came up last evening, by which fact I presume we will remain here sometime longer. Am better this morning. Were mustered by the colonel this A. M. to ascertain the number requisite to fill each company to maximum from the drafted men.

There are about 70 negroes now here being drilled daily to be added to

¹⁹ Steele (on the 13th) organized a strong striking force. Leaving the sick and a strong guard behind to hold the Greenville perimeter, Steele led his troops into the area south of the town. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 510-511.

²⁰ Captain Bell was mistaken on one point. Brigadier Generals Alvin P. Hovey's and Isaac F. Quinby's divisions were aboard the transports which passed Greenville on the night of the 12th. Hovey's division had not participated in the Yazoo Pass Expedition. During this operation, Hovey's command had been stationed at Helena. Francis V. Greene, *The Mississippi* (New York, 1883), 97-102.

²¹ The *Nevada* was a transport.

some one of the new negro regiments. I am of the opinion they will make good soldiers. They are willing to learn and prompt in obeying orders.

Rode on horseback through Greenville this evening. Would be a pretty place in time of peace. Was much struck with seeing a small group of well dressed little children sitting upon a porch playing. It looked home-like and almost brought tears.

Ate supper on the "Ed Walsh."²² They lost their cooks this evening as follows: A white woman on board went into the cooks' room and hurraed for Jeff Davis; the cooks (white) ordered her out. She remained and repeated the cry. They then slapped her face and put her out. The steward then came in and told the cooks the woman could yell for whom she pleased and they must leave her alone. The cooks then thrashed the steward and then left the boat. — Good for the cooks!

Friday, the 17th. No news today and no movement of importance. More cotton in today and negroes. The negro regiment now numbers fully 500, all good stalwart men. The 17th Iowa passed down today.²³ Wrote another letter to wife this A. M. Weather pleasant. Moved the camp today to better location.

Saturday, the 18th. Good news from below today to the effect that six gunboats and 4 transports had run the blockade, one transport only [the *Henry Clay*] being burned in the passage.²⁴ No news from above.

The main object of our stay here seems to be the collection of negroes, mules, cotton, etc. An order was issued by General Steele today desiring applicants for positions in the negro regiments now forming, to present their application immediately. A board of officers with Colonel [Charles R.] Woods, of the 76th Ohio, as President, were appointed to examine applicants. Sergeant [John S.] Dodge, of my Company, applied for a captaincy.²⁵ A number of others in the regiment have also applied. There will be no lack of applicants.

²² The *Ed Walsh* was a transport.

²³ A shortage of steamboats had forced the 17th Iowa to remain at Helena for several days following Quinby's departure. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 7.

²⁴ Under the cover of darkness on April 16, Rear Admiral David D. Porter sent eight gunboats and three transports past the Vicksburg batteries. One of the transports, the *Henry Clay*, was sunk by the fire of the Confederate guns. Alfred T. Mahan, *The Gulf and Inland Waters* (New York, 1883), 155.

²⁵ John S. Dodge had enlisted in the 25th Iowa as 3d Sergeant on July 24, 1862. Dodge was a resident of Burlington. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 940.

Sunday, the 19th. Heavy rain last night. Clear this morning. Wrote letter to wife, Mr. Oliver and H. E. today. Two night men came up from camp this evening; brought letter from wife, carpet sack, etc.

Monday, the 20th. 3d Missouri, 31st Missouri left on boats today for short excursion to get more negroes. Made application for Colonel of negro regiment yesterday. Another mail today; got another letter from wife. Also "Hawkeye" in a new dress and the secesh "Argus," containing a notice of the note on the War Resolutions in the regiment in which my company received what I consider a high compliment, as being the only truly loyal company from Des Moines County.²⁶

Tuesday, the 21st. Woke with severe headache this morning; ate no breakfast, recovered somewhat in the afternoon. Sold my watch today for \$35 (what I first paid) and another watch to boot, making a pretty good bargain. No further news from below. Picket firing at 9 this evening.

Wednesday, the 22d. The firing last night was occasioned by a poor negro woman unknowingly trying the pass the pickets. She was shot through the heart and killed instantly.

The 3d and 31st Missouri returned this morning having been about 20 miles up the river, bringing in two large boat loads of mules, cattle and negroes, besides corn, salt meat, etc. Received orders at 11 o'clock this evening to be ready to move with 5 days rations at 10 A. M. tomorrow.

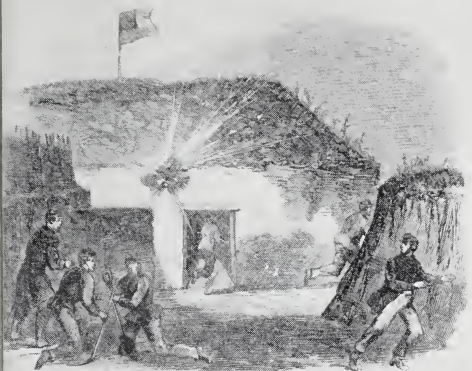
Thursday, the 23d. Wrote letter to wife this morning enclosing \$20. Received a letter from her last night. Our destination today is yet unknown. At 10 o'clock the whole division was drawn up in a hollow square and Major General Steele, after ranks had been broken and the men collected inside, explained the policy the government had adopted relative to the negroes. General speech making then ensued. Speeches were made by [Brigadier] General [John M.] Thayer, Colonels [Francis H.] Manter, [George A.] Stone, [William] Smyth, [Charles R.] Woods, [Isaac F.] Shepard, [and] Captain Blanchard, 13th Illinois, and others.²⁷

²⁶ The "Hawkeye" and the "Argus" were Iowa newspapers.

²⁷ Thayer and Manter were brigade commanders. Colonel Woods led the 76th Ohio, Colonel Shepard the 3d Missouri, and Colonel Smyth the 31st Iowa. The government had recently changed its policy. Henceforth, Negroes would be encouraged to enlist in the Union army. Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas had been sent to the Western Theater of Operations to rally support for this policy. Thomas, along with



THE CITY OF VICKSBURG BEFORE THE WAR.—[SEE PAGE 476.]



ENTRANCE OF THE MINE UNDER FORT HILL.—REBEL HAND GRENADE EXPLODING.



UNDER FORT HILL.

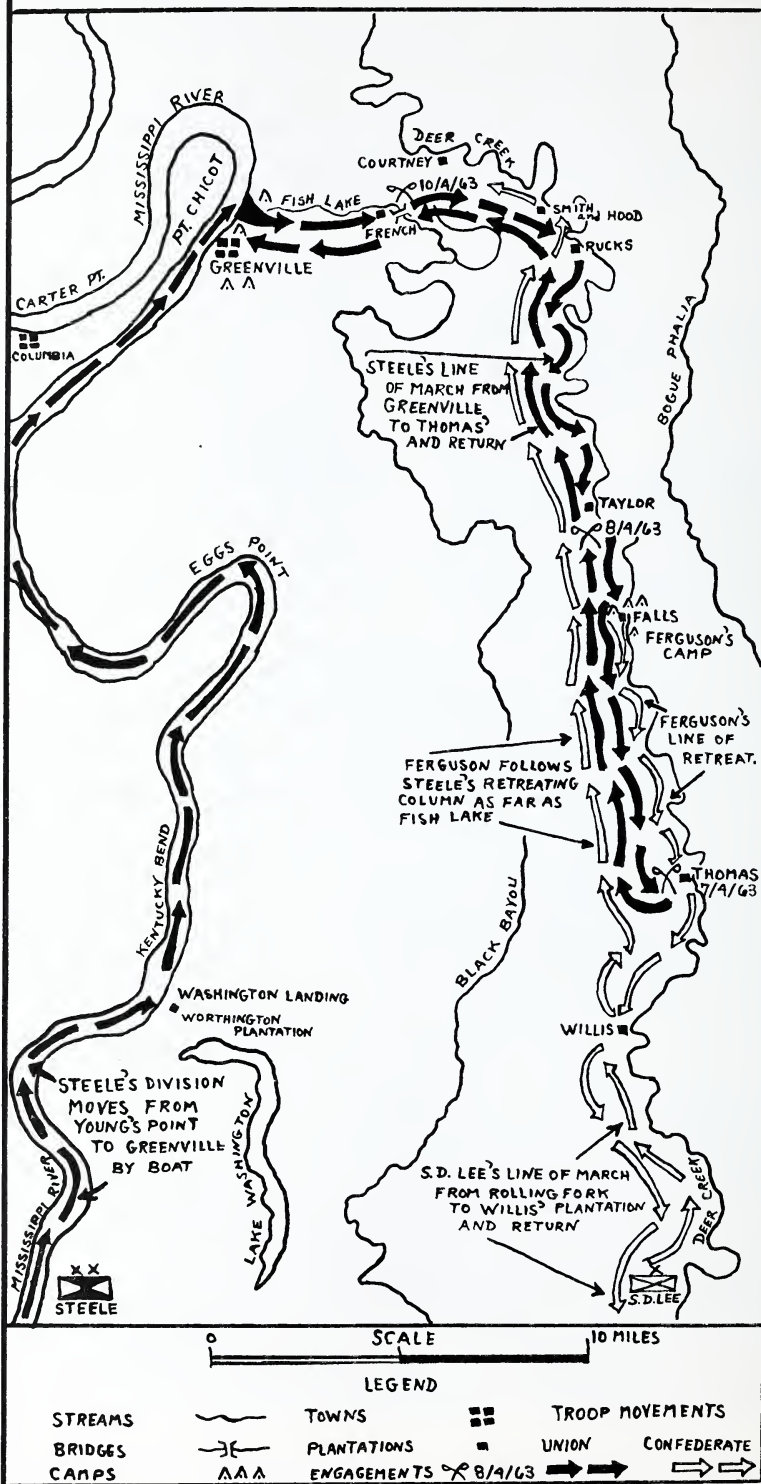


THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.—BLOWING UP THE REBEL FORT HILL.—SKETCHED BY MR. THEOPHILUS R. DAVIS.—[SEE PAGE 478.]

(Top) The city of Vicksburg before the war; (center, left) Entrance of the mine under Fort Hill — rebel hand grenade exploding; (center, right) Under Fort Hill; (bottom) The siege of Vicksburg — Blowing up the Rebel Fort Hill. Sketched by T. R. Davis in *Harper's Weekly*, July 25, 1863.

STEELE'S GREENVILLE EXPEDITION

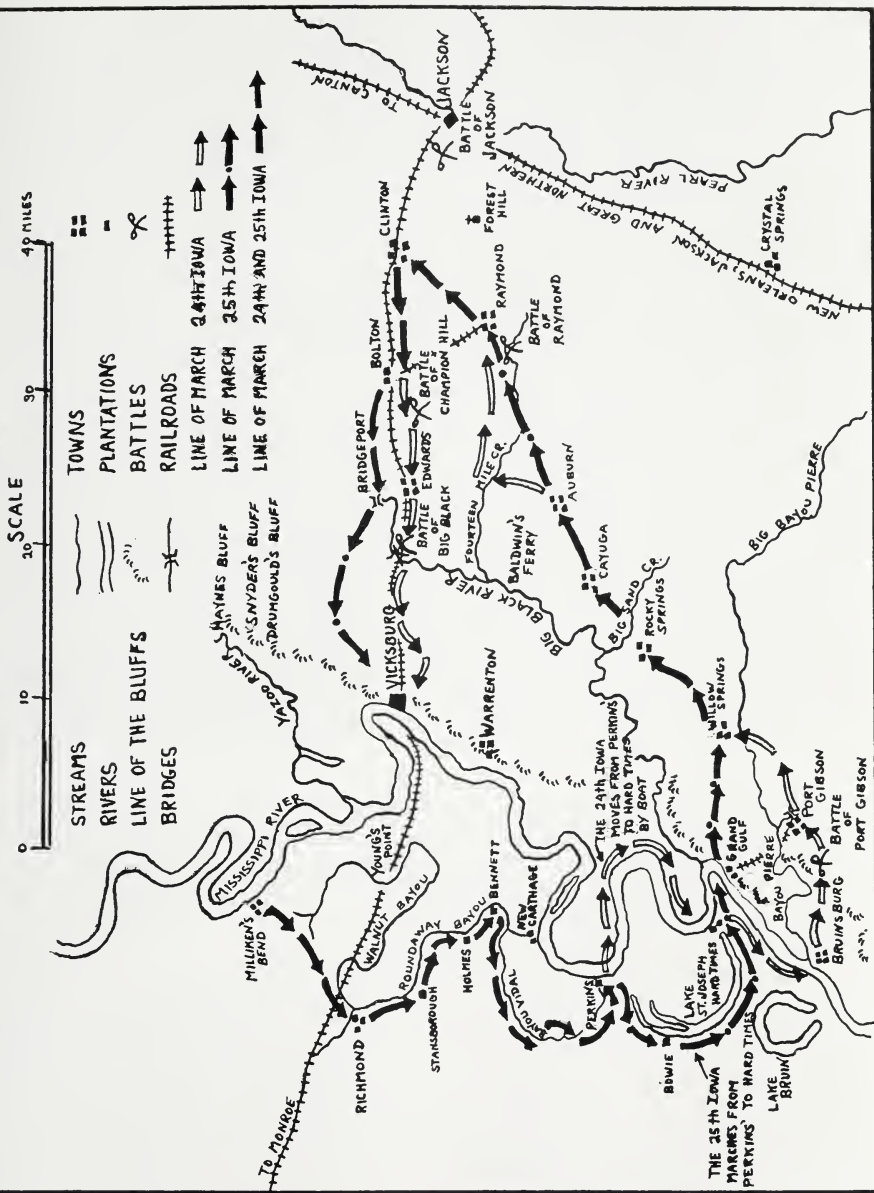
APRIL 2-24, 1863



THE UNION MARCH FROM MILLIKENS BEND TO VICKSBURG

MARCH 31 - MAY 18 1863

THE ROUTES FOLLOWED BY THE 24th AND 25th IOWA



INCIDENTS PRECEDING FALL OF VICKSBURG



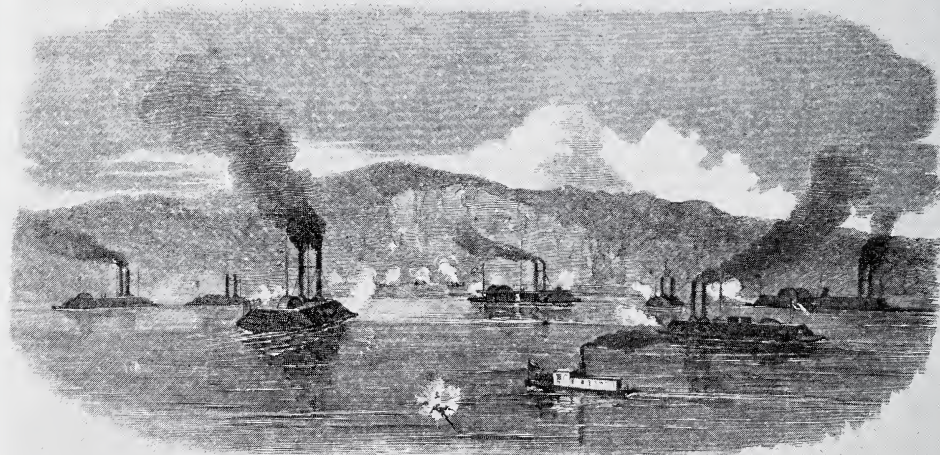
GENERAL LOGAN ENTERING PORT GIBSON, MISSISSIPPI.



GOVERNOR YATES SEARCHING FOR THE WOUNDED.



GENERAL GRANT DICTATING DISPATCHES BY MOONLIGHT.



ATTACK OF THE GUN-BOATS ON GRAND GULF.

GRANT'S CAMPAIGN IN THE SOUTHWEST.—SKETCHED BY MR. THOROUGH R. DAVIS.—[SEE PAGE 357.]

Harper's Weekly, May 30, 1863

(Top) General Logan entering Port Gibson, Mississippi; (center, left) Governor Yates searching for the wounded; (center, right) General Grant dictating dispatches by moonlight; (bottom) Attack of the gunboats on Grand Gulf. Sketch by T. R. Davis in *Harper's Weekly*, May 30, 1863.



DESTRUCTION OF REBEL PROPERTY AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, MAY 15.



THE BATTLE OF CHAMPION'S HILL, MAY 10, 1863.—Sketch by Mr. Thompson E. D. and See Page 507.

Harper's Weekly, June 20, 1863

(Top) DESTRUCTION OF THE RAILROAD AND REBEL STORES AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI.

Headquarters of Major General McPherson
Jackson, Mississippi, May 15, 1863

The Army marched this morning toward Vicksburg, leaving the brigade of General Mower to destroy the property of the "Rebel Government" — railroad, penitentiary, etc. While sketching the scene I [the artist] could not but think of the sketches that I have sent to you of the devastation of the rebels on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the raid of Stuart into Chambersburg. At the moment we seem to have beaten the rebels at this their favorite performance.

(Bottom) THE BATTLE OF CHAMPION'S HILL.

Headquarters of Major General McPherson
Near Black River, May 17, 1863

The division of General Hovey being in advance, discovered the enemy in force, posted in excellent position upon the crest of a hill covered with forest and undergrowth. . . . The batteries of Captain Rogers and De Solyer opened with good effect. . . . The mass of the rebel troops seemed now to have been thrown against our left, and General Hovey, being forced to retire, was at once supported by General Crocker, who sent from his division two regiments of Colonel Sandborne's brigade, and the brigades of Colonel Boomer and Holmes. These troops held the rebels in check, and shortly advanced, driving the enemy, capturing 1600 prisoners and a battery.

A general advance, now ordered by General Grant . . . General McPherson sending in pursuit General Stevenson's brigade, with De Solyer's battery, followed by General Carr's division. In this retreat the rebels lost General Tilghman, killed by a shell. The enemy lost nearly two thousand prisoners and thirteen guns.

THE VICKSBURG SIEGE LINES

FROM THE 24 TEXAS LUNETTE TO FORT GARROTT
MAY 22 - JULY 4, 1863



- STREAMS
- RIFLE PITS
- INTERMITTENT
- APPROACHES
- ROADS
- RAILROADS
- BRIDGES
- CAMPS
- HEADQUARTERS
- SITE OF COL. BOMBER'S DEATH

- ARMY
- CORPS
- DIVISION
- BRIGADE
- REGIMENT
- COMMANDS
- GRANT
- ORD
- NOVY
- SLACK
- STOWA

EARTHWORKS DEPICTED AS OF JULY 4.
TROOP POSITIONS NORTH OF RAILROAD AS
OF 5 P.M. MAY 22. TROOP POSITIONS
SOUTH OF RAILROAD
AS OF JULY 4.



CAMPS OF THE 24 TH
AND 28 TH IOWA 400 YARDS
SOUTH OF THIS POINT

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

A
JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

Vol. VII.—No. 344.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1863.

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THE REBEL GENERAL BOWEN AND COLONEL MONTGOMERY ARRIVING AT GENERAL BURBRIDGE'S HEAD-QUARTERS.—SKETCHED BY THOS. H. DAVIS.—[SEE PAGE 487.]



THE CAPTURE OF VICKSBURG.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN GENERALS GRANT AND PEMBERTON, TO SETTLE THE TERMS OF SURRENDER.—[SEE PAGE 487.]

(Top) The Rebel General Bowen and Colonel Montgomery arriving at General Burbridge's headquarters (bottom) The Capture of Vicksburg—Interview between Generals Grant and Pemberton, to settle terms of surrender. Sketched by T. R. Davis in *Harper's Weekly*, August 1, 1863.

All expressing unqualified concurrence in the new policy. Every representative officer in the division expressed their approval, and the frequent and hearty applause of the men showed the feeling of the rank and file.

I expressed the opinion that the new policy will inspire confidence and increase the spirit and devotion of the army and injure immensely the rebel cause. After the meeting the order to move was countermanded and we are yet here expecting to move tomorrow. Visited the 13th Illinois tonight. Played whist in company with Colonels [Adam B.] Gorges, [George A.] Stone and [a] Lieutenant Colonel of [the] 13th [Illinois].

Friday, the 24th. Wrote to McKnight today. No move this A. M. Received an order at 4 P. M. to go on the "Chancellor" bound for Young's Point, thence to another point. I think our destination will be [New] Carthage and then over the river. The negroes were sent off early this A. M.; went on board. Before leaving I had a conversation with a light mulatto woman; the mother of a girl seven years of age, who is perfectly white, has long straight hair, and is most beautiful.

Saturday, the 25th. Left [Greenville] last night; arrived at Young's Point at 7 this A. M. Landed and marched to our former camp when a general renovating took place. The pay master is here and will pay us immediately. Our rolls were sent to the pay master this evening.

Sunday, the 26th. Received orders this A. M. to break camp and embark at once for Milliken's Bend, which we proceeded to do. Got on the boat at 12 (bag and baggage) and left at 1 P. M. Passed the new canal at 1:30; a dredge boat could be seen at work and the canal seems to go on swimmingly.²⁸ Arrived at Milliken's Bend at 3:30 P. M. Here we waited until nearly dark before our position to camp was assigned us. Got up our tent

other leaders, made speeches to the troops, explaining the new program. It was pointed out that the colored regiments would be officered by white men chosen from the army. This was cunningly picked bait, since it meant that hundreds of enlisted men might aspire to commissions. Bruce Catton, *Grant Moves South* (Boston, 1960), 401-403.

²⁸ The canal which Bell referred to was the Duckport Canal. This canal linked the Mississippi River with Walnut Bayou. Work on the Duckport Canal had been started during the first week of April, following the departure of Steele's command for Greenville. Since the Mississippi was falling rapidly, the Duckport Canal had to be abandoned, after only one small tug (the *Victor*) had passed through it and reached New Carthage. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 70; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 151-152.

at dark. Saw Governor [Richard] Yates of Illinois.²⁹ Engaged until 11 P. M. with the pay master in completing our rolls on the "Golden Era." Our camp is near the river about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from General Grant's headquarters.³⁰

Monday, the 27th. Pay master appeared this morning and paid off the regiments to March 1. Quite welcome it is to the boys and to your humble servant. Saw the gallant Brigadier General [Charles L.] Matthies, from Burlington, formerly Colonel of the 5th Iowa, today.³¹ He complimented me highly upon the appearance and number of my company, saying that it was certain proof of a good and efficient captain. Coming from such a man I fully appreciate its value. Heavy rain this A. M.

Tuesday, the 28th. Commenced ditching and cleaning our camps. Worked hard myself to ditch my own tent. Received orders at 4 P. M. to march at 8 in the morning to Richmond on the road to [New] Carthage about 16 miles distant. The 30th Missouri to accompany us and Colonel Stone to have command. Our orders to erect fortifications. A new gunboat of the same pattern as "La Fayette," name unknown, came down today.³²

Wednesday, the 29th. Start at 7:30 this morning for Richmond in this (Madison) Parish, and after a fatiguing march of 16 miles arrived at 4 P. M. and went into camp immediately near the town. This is the parish seat and a moderate place as to size. Appointed officer of the day and posted the picket guard.

Thursday, the 30th. Received the appointment this morning as Provost Marshal, with Lieutenant Collins of the 30th Missouri as assistant. Been busy all day arranging matters, issuing orders, granting passes, etc. Also made out the muster roll of the company and were mustered for pay by the Colonel. Made out monthly returns today. Have had my hands full all day and expect more tomorrow. Heard heavy firing today in the direction of

²⁹ Governor Yates was visiting the Illinois units assigned to the Army of the Tennessee.

³⁰ General Grant had moved his headquarters from Milliken's Bend to Smith's plantation near New Carthage on the 23d. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 79.

³¹ General Matthies commanded a brigade in Brigadier General James M. Tuttle's division of Sherman's XV Army Corps. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 259.

³² The ironclad which reached Milliken's Bend on April 28 was the *Choctaw*. Grant was concentrating his army at Judge Perkins' plantation and at Hard Times Landing, preparatory to crossing the Mississippi River.

Vicksburg.³³ The gnats and mosquitoes are very thick and bite tremendously. I have a nice, cool office near the Court House, once occupied by a lawyer, and I now write upon his baize covered table.

Friday, May 1st. Today has been a very busy day with me. Have written a vast number of passes for different individuals, including Reverend Mr. Norton of Indiana, and two ladies en route for the army below. Our sutler, Mr. Sutherland, arrived today. News arrived today that the firing yesterday was up the Yazoo. [Major General Francis P.] Blair's division has gone up and the new gunboat "Choctaw" and others attacked [Drumgould's and Snyder's bluffs], . . . and there is a rumor that Sherman now occupies it, the rebels having evacuated.³⁴ News also arrived of fighting at Grand Gulf and the gunboats said to have silenced all but three of the rebel batteries.³⁵

Saturday, May 2d. Commenced building fortifications near Roundaway Bayou on the Delhi road yesterday. Plenty of work today writing passes, collecting negroes, etc. Received letter from wife today.

³³ In an effort to divert the Vicksburg Confederates' attention away from the Union build-up in the Judge Perkins-HardTimes sector, Grant directed General Sherman to feign an attack on the Snyder's Bluff defenses, 12 miles northeast of Vicksburg. To carry out his mission, Sherman had General Blair embark part of his division on transports on April 29. Convoied by a strong force of gunboats, Blair's troops were sent up the Yazoo River. On the 30th, while the troops were being disembarked at Blake's lower plantation, the Union gunboats opened fire on Drumgould's Bluff. The Rebel cannoneers manning the heavy ordnance emplaced on Drumgould's and Snyder's Bluffs returned the Federals' fire. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 576-578; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 24, pp. 588-600. (Cited hereafter as *O. R. N.*)

³⁴ There was no substance to the rumor that Blair's troops had occupied Drumgould's and Snyder's Bluffs. After engaging the Confederate batteries for a second time on the afternoon of May 1, the gunboats returned to the fleet anchorage at the mouth of the Yazoo. At the same time, Blair re-embarked his troops and returned to Young's Point. *Ibid.*

³⁵ On the morning of April 29, seven of Admiral Porter's ironclads attacked the Confederate fortifications at Grand Gulf. Grant expected that the fleet would be able to silence the Rebel guns and clear the way for his landing force. Packed aboard the transports and barges just beyond the range of the Grand Gulf guns were 10,000 battle-hardened Union soldiers. The naval attack, however, failed to knock out one of the two Confederate forts. Consequently, Grant ordered McClelland to land his troops at Hard Times. The foot soldiers were then marched across the base of Coffee's Point, opposite Grand Gulf. Under the cover of darkness, the gunboats, transports, and barges successfully passed the Grand Gulf defenses. Edwin C. Bearss, "Grand Gulf's Role in the Civil War," *Civil War History*, V (Iowa City, 1959), 23-25.

Sunday, the 3d. Heard heavy explosion this morning, cause unknown.³⁶ Received orders to move today and go to [New] Carthage. We are to be relieved by 127th Illinois and we have to await their arrival.³⁷ Generals Sherman and Steele passed through today to [New] Carthage. General Tuttle's division and Steele's passed through today.³⁸ Blair's is to remain and guard the road from Milliken's Bend to this point. . . . [Snyder's] Bluff was not taken as reported. We are not relieved yet.

Monday, the 4th. The 127th Illinois has not arrived yet but are near. We have the report this morning that Grand Gulf is ours. The explosion we heard yesterday was caused by the rebs blowing up the magazine. Our loss is reported as 214 killed and we took 300 prisoners.³⁹ There is no doubt of the truth of this report.

At 9 A. M., [the] 127th [Illinois] arrived and we will leave soon. Left at 9:30 and marched about 3 miles to Stanborough's plantation; the heat being very excessive, we stopped at 12 M. and awaited the cool of the evening. A captain on [Brigadier] General [Hugh] Ewing's staff came up at 2 o'clock, confirming the capture of Grand Gulf, and reports our troops as within 17 miles of the railroad to Jackson at 12 M. yesterday; our loss at the fight about 240.

³⁶ The XIII and XVII Corps of the Army of the Tennessee crossed the Mississippi at Bruinsburg on April 30. On the following day, Grant's troops defeated Brigadier General John S. Bowen's Confederates in the battle of Port Gibson. This victory secured the Union bridgehead east of the Mississippi. On May 2, the Union troops crossed the Little Bayou Pierre, and the Confederate stronghold of Grand Gulf was rendered untenable. General Bowen ordered his troops to fall back across the Big Black. Before abandoning Grand Gulf, the Confederates blew up the magazines. *Ibid.*, 27-28.

³⁷ The 127th Illinois Infantry belonged to Colonel Thomas Kilby Smith's brigade of Blair's division. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 252.

³⁸ With his bridgehead secured, Grant issued orders for General Sherman to join him. Pending Sherman's arrival, Grant halted the XIII and XVII Corps in the Hankinson's Ferry-Willow Springs area. In accordance with Grant's instructions, Sherman ordered Steele's and Tuttle's divisions to begin the march southward. Tuttle's division left its Young's Point encampments on the morning of the 2d, while Steele's troops marched away from Milliken's Bend at 4 p. m. Sherman's other division (Blair's) was to remain behind for the time being to guard Union installations in the Milliken's Bend-Young's Point area. Edward P. Reichhelm, "The Taking of Vicksburg," *The Bayonne Herald*, Jan. 11, 1902; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 758; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 271.

³⁹ The Army of the Tennessee had 131 killed, 719 wounded, and 25 missing in the battle of Port Gibson. In this engagement, the Federals claimed the capture of approximately 500 Confederates. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 33-34, 585.

Moved on at 4:30 P. M. and at 6:30 arrived at the camp of the Iowa brigade, [Brigadier] General [Marcellus M.] Crocker's, on Holmes' plantation.⁴⁰ The 11th, 13th, 15th, [and] 16th Iowa compose this brigade. I had the pleasure of seeing Lieutenant Colonel [John C.] Abercrombie of Burlington, of the 11th [Iowa], and we conversed until nearly 12 o'clock at night.⁴¹ We camped $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of this camp.

Tuesday, the 5th. We heard this A. M. of the sinking of 4 barges and tow-boat, that attempted to run the blockade night before last.⁴² They were burned by red hot shot from the Rebel batteries; only two of the crew escaped and they were from our division. We started this morning at 6:30, our present destination being Perkins' plantation below [New] Carthage. An officer of General Grant's staff last night reported it as the universal opinion that we would have possession of Vicksburg in ten days. God grant it be so. If we once gain possession of the R. R. bridge over Big Black River, the fall of Vicksburg is certain, and there is a rumor this morning that our gunboats and troops have arrived there.⁴³

We met at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 9 a party of just 45 rebel prisoners captured at . . . [Port Gibson]. They were of the regular butternut order, but looked healthy, and far from being at all near starvation. We marched at a good rate today, making 16 miles. We are now within 7 miles of Perkins' Landing.

The rumor reaches us this evening of a junction formed between [Major

⁴⁰ Brigadier General John McArthur's division of the XVII Corps had not accompanied the corps when it crossed the Mississippi on April 30 and May 1. Two of McArthur's three brigades (Ransom's and Hall's) were detailed to protect the Union supply line which linked Richmond with Hard Times. General Crocker had been assigned to the command of the Seventh Division of the XVII Corps on April 30. At this time, Colonel William Hall of the 11th Iowa was in charge of the Iowa Brigade. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 258.

⁴¹ *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, II, 284.

⁴² The tug *George Sturgess*, a barge load of supplies lashed to each side, tried to run the Vicksburg batteries on the night of the 3d. Spotting the tug as she tried to slip past the Vicksburg batteries, the Confederates opened fire. Repeated hits were registered on the tug. Abandoned by her crew, the flaming derelict drifted down the river. The Confederates captured most of the crew and passengers (four newspaper correspondents). O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 688-689; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 271, 827.

⁴³ There was no truth to the report that Union gunboats and troops had reached Big Black Bridge.

General Ulysses S.] Grant's and [Nathaniel P.] Banks' force.⁴⁴ Also a daring foray of a cavalry force from . . . [La Grange, Tennessee] to Baton Rouge right through the heart of the enemy's country, under [Colonel Benjamin H.] Grierson, and the destruction of 40 miles of the Mobile and Ohio R. R.⁴⁵ The force arrived at Baton Rouge without the loss of a man.⁴⁶ We also hear of the destruction of the bridge over Big Black on the . . . [Southern Railroad of Mississippi] and the rebel prisoners who passed today say that [Major General William S.] Rosecrans has again defeated [General Braxton] Bragg. This is glorious news if true.⁴⁷

Wednesday, the 6th. Started at 6:30 this A. M. and arrived at Perkins' plantation at 10 A. M. Here we saw another squad of 130 rebel prisoners, among whom was a captain named Maury, who was on a visit to his father at Port Gibson and volunteered on [Brigadier] General [John S.] Bowen's staff, and while engaged in destroying a R. R. bridge between Grand Gulf and Port Gibson was gobbled by our cavalry. He was a fine looking young man and belonged to the rebel army in Virginia. He formerly went to school to Captain Conrad.

We are now ordered to march down the river about 25 miles, opposite Grand Gulf, to rejoin our division. I saw the "Moderator," one of the transports that ran the blockade a short time ago. She is badly cut up full of holes; 41 shots struck her, but not one touched the pilot house or texas.

We hear now that our forces were within 7 miles of the Big Black River Bridge at last accounts. We are marching at a good rate today, expecting to reach our destination by tomorrow evening. Where we are now resting at 3:30 P. M. is a fine plantation, well kept, but now entirely deserted. The

⁴⁴ There was no substance to the rumor reporting a junction of Banks' and Grant's armies. At this time, Banks' army was closing in on Alexandria, Louisiana, a considerable distance away.

⁴⁵ On April 17, Colonel Grierson with 1,700 hard-riding troopers had ridden out of La Grange on one of the most celebrated cavalry raids of the Civil War. Sixteen days later, Grierson's raiders reached Baton Rouge. During their march through Mississippi, the Union cavalymen cut the Southern Railroad of Mississippi and the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad. The information reaching Captain Bell, telling of the destruction "of 40 miles of the Mobile and Ohio R. R." was untrue.

⁴⁶ Grierson had lost 3 killed, 7 wounded, and 14 missing during his sweep through Mississippi and east Louisiana. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 528.

⁴⁷ The rumors telling of the destruction of the Big Black Bridge and Bragg's defeat by Rosecrans were without foundation.

large number of comfortable negro quarters indicate that the proprietor had a large stock of that kind of property.⁴⁸

We have marched about 17 miles today, during the last 3 miles along the banks of Lake St. Joseph. All the residences, cotton gins, etc., are burned or burning, having been fired by the division ahead of us. Pianos, costly furniture, etc., are lying around broken to pieces. Passed one very large plantation belonging to Dr. Allen T. Bowie, a near relative to the celebrated Colonel Bowie of Bowie-knife notoriety. His whole property is laid waste. We camp at night in the door yard of a wealthy planter, he having deserted it.⁴⁹

Thursday, the 7th. Started at an early hour and overtook and passed the train of the preceding division [Tuttle's]. Still on the road along Lake St. Joseph. Property all destroyed. Arrived at Hard Times Landing opposite or nearly so to Grand Gulf at 2 P. M. We are now ordered to remain here and regulate the transportation of teams until the arrival of Blair's division.⁵⁰

We may remain here two or three days. The news comes this evening that General Grant says he will have Vicksburg surrounded in 24 hours. The fight just opposite here at the Bluff [Grand Gulf] was most desperate between the gunboats and batteries, lasting 5 and one-half hours. I saw Mr. Barlow, now Engineer on the "Carondelet," who told me that the rebel gunners were many times driven from their guns by the gunboats, but were driven back by the infantry at the [point of the] bayonet. We are now camped near . . . [Hard Times] Landing.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The rumor that the vanguard of the Army of the Tennessee had penetrated to within seven miles of the Big Black Bridge was false. Since the plantation where the 25th Iowa halted the eve of the 6th hadn't been burned, it was probably Routhwood.

⁴⁹ Apparently, the soldiers of Tuttle's division, while they were waiting for Steele's men to cross the bridges which spanned Phelps and Clark bayous, had committed most of the depredations. Among the fine homes burned were those belonging to Dr. Bowie and John Routh. Several of the Union soldiers estimated that, during the day, they had witnessed the destruction of at least \$1,000,000 worth of private property. Diary, W. B. Halsey (files, Vicksburg National Military Park).

⁵⁰ In accordance with orders from Sherman, Blair left Milliken's Bend on the 7th with two of his three brigades. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 266. As soon as they had crossed the Mississippi, Steele's and Tuttle's divisions pushed eastward to join Grant. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 758.

⁵¹ There is no documentary evidence on the Confederate side to support Mr. Barlow's story that "the rebel gunners were many times driven from their guns by the gunboats, but were driven back by the infantry at the bayonet." Bearss, "Grand Gulf's Role in the Civil War," *Civil War History*, V, 23-25.

Friday, the 8th. No news today from the front. Rumors arrive of Banks' attacking Port Hudson, but they are exceedingly unreliable.⁵² Colonel Stone is busy superintending the transportation of teams across to Grand Gulf. We still lie here awaiting arrival of Blair's division. Wrote letter to wife today. Plenty of alligators in the vicinity. Saw numbers on the march.

Saturday, the 9th. No news yet at 12 M., except that some of our transports are now down at Red River to bring up Banks' forces to assist Grant. Went fishing this morning; caught a few small fish. The rumor above mentioned is groundless. News from the front indicates that Grant has been reinforced by 8,000 cavalry from Holly Springs [Mississippi] and they are now pushing on to the Tombigbee River, in order to destroy a bridge over that stream.⁵³ Wrote another letter to wife this evening.

Sunday, the 10th. Blair is within 7 miles and will arrive today and we will then go on. Received orders at 3 P. M. to move across to Grand Gulf immediately. Embarked on the "Cheeseman" and arrived at Grand Gulf at 5:30 P. M. The boat is badly used but no one was killed upon her in running the blockade. One huge shell entered the office, going directly through the safe, opening it in a rather unceremonious manner. I have not had a chance to visit the works yet, but shall try to do so tomorrow morning. We are encamped tonight near the ruins of the town.⁵⁴

Monday, the 11th. A report came in last night that the rebels were evacuating Vicksburg — don't believe it. Visited the rebel works here this morning. They are very extensive and of immense strength. In the upper works [Fort Cobun] . . . [four] large guns were mounted. This is at the bluff at the mouth of the Big Black River and commands the Mississippi for a great distance.

All along the sides of the bluff extensive and elaborately constructed rifle pits exist, capable of shielding 10,000 men. The main pit is 12 feet wide; behind this is a smaller one. These pits are intersected by a 3d running along the top of the bluff.

⁵² There was no truth to the report that General Nathaniel P. Banks had attacked Port Hudson.

⁵³ The rumor telling of a thrust by the Union cavalry toward the Tombigbee was without foundation.

⁵⁴ Grand Gulf had been burned by the Union Navy in June, 1862. Bearss, "Grand Gulf's Role in the Civil War," *Civil War History*, V, 10-11.

The second fortification [Fort Wade] just above the ruins of the town, is also very strong and mounted . . . [four] heavy guns en barbette—flanked with rifle pits. The magazines in both places were protected by R. R. iron, and when they exploded threw the iron in every direction. Great labor has been expended upon these works. I saw three of the guns captured—2 old 32's rifled, and an 8-inch smooth, all heavy guns. The wonder to me is how gunboats could make any impression upon works of such strength.⁵⁵

We will move toward the front today [the 11th] as soon as a portion of Blair's division arrives here, as escort for a train of wagons.⁵⁶ Companies E, K, C, B, constitute the rear guard. The train being very large we did not get started till 5:30 P. M.

The road is a continual succession of hills and valleys, and is emphatically a "hard road to travel." The soil is yellow clay and the dust about 4 inches deep on an average. We passed the residence of the original Dan Tucker today. Our march is very fatiguing; the continual halts caused by the delay necessary to get the teams up and down hill were irksome and we did not get into camp till 12 o'clock midnight. Three wagons were upset during the day. Our march was about 13 miles and no water on the whole distance. Went to sleep on the ground without supper.⁵⁷

Tuesday, the 12th. Awaked at day break this morning and put in the advance. Just had time to swallow a hasty meal and started. The road just the same, but the change from the low bottom lands of Louisiana to these hills is refreshing. Heard rumors of rebels crossing Black River with the intention of cutting off our supplies. Went into camp at 3 o'clock by the side of a stream of water after a march of 12 miles.⁵⁸

Wednesday, the 13th. Commenced our march at precisely 5 o'clock this

⁵⁵ For a detailed description of the Grand Gulf fortifications, see *Ibid.*, 21-22.

⁵⁶ A thorough examination of Union correspondence and a number of diaries indicates that at almost daily intervals in the period between May 8 and 15 large wagon trains left Grand Gulf. These trains were destined to join Grant's army as it drove northeastward. In the light of this evidence, it is very doubtful that Grant abandoned his supply line which linked his army with Grand Gulf until after his army arrived before Vicksburg. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 761; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 284-285, 296.

⁵⁷ The 25th Iowa spent the night of the 11th near Willow Springs.

⁵⁸ There was no substance to the rumor that the Confederates had crossed the Big Black in an effort to cut the Union supply line. Colonel Stone's regiment camped for the night on Big Sand Creek. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 266.

A. M. Blair's division was within two miles of us this A. M. and at nine o'clock came up with the rear of our train.⁵⁹ He sent forward an order for Colonel Stone to halt and permit him to go ahead. He did so, but as the Colonel's orders were from General Grant himself, we again moved forward, passing through a small village named "Cayuga," all deserted. At 10 A. M. heard heavy cannonading in a northern direction, which we afterwards ascertained to be the gunboats making a demonstration at Warrenton.⁶⁰

News from the front today is good. On the 11th a brisk fight occurred, [Major General John A.] Logan's division on our side being engaged. We drove the rebels, taking 300 prisoners and killing and wounding 1,500. The rebs left about 1,000 of their wounded on the field, then fled.⁶¹ We are pushing toward Jackson and have reached Edinton. The heat today has been almost intolerable and the dust awful. My lungs are filled with the fine dust. Our train numbered 183 wagons, laden principally with food and ammunition. We marched about 12 miles today and camp tonight by the side of a stream. Blair has a train of over 100 wagons. Rebel pickets seen to our left today.⁶²

Thursday, the 14th. Had to wait this A. M. until Blair's division had passed us, consequently we did not get started till 10 o'clock amid a very heavy shower of rain, and then had to stand long intervals in the rain. The

⁵⁹ Blair's division had left Grand Gulf on the 12th and spent the night of the 13th at Rocky Springs. *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Since the Warrenton Casemate had been destroyed on the 10th, the firing which the soldiers of the 25th Iowa heard was the gunboats shelling the woods opposite Bowers' Landing. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 24, pp. 664-665.

⁶¹ The engagement referred to by Captain Bell was the battle of Raymond, which was fought on May 12, not the 11th. In this battle, Logan's division of the XVII Corps, supported by Crocker's division, had defeated a Confederate force led by Brigadier General John Gregg. This battle had important repercussions. Up to this time, Grant was pointing his army towards Edwards Station, on the Southern Railroad of Mississippi. The fierce resistance put up by Gregg's small command caused Grant to change his master plan. Grant determined to march against Jackson. After breaking up the force which the Confederates were reported to be massing at Jackson and wrecking the railroads which made the city a railroad center, Grant would lead his army westward against the defenders of Vicksburg. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 300.

In the battle of Raymond, McPherson's Corps lost 66 killed, 339 wounded, and 39 missing. General Gregg reported his losses as 73 killed, 251 wounded, and 190 missing. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 705-706, 739.

⁶² In addition to their own wagons, Blair's troops escorted a supply train, consisting of 200 wagons. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 255.

mud became almost impossible to get through and rain all day. Colonel [Stone] received orders from Grant to hurry up with the provisions — passed Blair and marched on through the rain. Got completely wet through twice today.

News arrived today of the fall of Richmond, Va. Also that Stonewall Jackson is killed.⁶³ Also rumors of the taking of Jackson; that is our present destination.⁶⁴ Went into camp at 5 P. M. Passed the place of skirmish between 4th Iowa Cavalry and the enemy three days ago.⁶⁵ We are yet 15 miles from our advance; came only about 10 miles today. Our division is in the advance.

Friday, the 15th. Started at 8 this A. M. Caught a slight cold from being wet yesterday. We are now living on two crackers per day, with a fair prospect of less quantity soon. The fight of Logan's division was with reinforcements from Port Hudson for Vicksburg.⁶⁶ They attacked his rear and he turned and whipped them badly.⁶⁷ Went about 5 miles and heard that the rebels were crossing Big Black about 2½ miles off with the intention of cutting off our train.⁶⁸ We loaded and waited for reinforcements, which came from Blair's division. Here we heard of the certain taking of Jackson, Miss., and it is now occupied by Gen. Grant; also of the taking of Richmond, Va. This is said to be sure. The news so electrified the men that they about desired a rebel attack to show their willingness to assist in the glorious work. Marched 2½ miles further, passing the place of the

⁶³ The news of Stonewall Jackson's death was true, but the story of the fall of Richmond was not.

⁶⁴ McPherson's and Sherman's troops captured Jackson on the afternoon of the 14th.

⁶⁵ On the 12th, the troopers of the 4th Iowa Cavalry had encountered a strong detachment from Colonel W. Wirt Adams' Mississippi Cavalry Regiment guarding the crossing of Fourteen Mile Creek. Before the Mississippians were finally forced to retire from the ford, Sherman was compelled to commit an infantry brigade. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 753. The 25th Iowa spent the night of the 14th camped on Dillon's plantation.

⁶⁶ Bell was correct. Gregg's troops had come from Port Hudson.

⁶⁷ While Gregg had attacked first, he had not moved against Logan's rear. Gregg's battle plan called for a frontal attack with a portion of his brigade, while the rest of his command tried to turn the Union right. *Ibid.*, 737.

⁶⁸ On the 13th, three divisions of General Pemberton's army crossed the Big Black and took up position south of Edwards. Two days later, Pemberton's troops left Edwards and marched southeastward toward Raymond. The Confederate leaders planned to attack the Union supply columns which were moving along the Port Gibson-Raymond road. *Ibid.*, 260-262.

recent fight. Our men were yet taking off the rebel wounded and burying their dead.⁶⁹

And we came to Raymond. Here the Court House and all the large buildings were occupied with the wounded, of whom we have about 200 here. The rebels are now running for Vicksburg and our army is now trying to cut them off before they arrive at Big Black and cross to the peninsula. [Brigadier] General [Eugene A.] Carr's division passed through Raymond, hurrying to cut off the Rebels while we are here.⁷⁰ There are a number of Rebel prisoners confined here in the hotel, about 300. Raymond is a tolerably large place with about 600 inhabitants. Has a fine Court House, now filled with rebel wounded.

We left Raymond at 2:30 o'clock, taking the road to Clinton on the . . . [Southern Railroad of Mississippi] 8 miles distant, where our division is at present. There were plenty of fair looking young females in the town [Raymond] who came out of doors to witness our departure, whereat the Colonel called for three cheers for the girls we leave behind us, which were given with a will. The girls, be it understood, have been very attentive to our wounded. We came 4½ miles without a stop. Our Major [Calvin] (Taylor) diverted the boys by running a race with some woman who is with us, said to be a hospital attendant, both on horseback, the Major being beat.⁷¹ "Bully for the gal." Arrived at Clinton at 6 P. M. feeling much wearied. Went into camp near town where we are to await the arrival of our division.⁷²

Saturday, the 16th. At 15 minutes to 8, heard heavy and continued firing in the direction of Bolton, about 8 miles distant, indicating an attack of the enemy upon that place.⁷³ The firing lasted 20 minutes. General Grant was in Clinton this A. M. and pushed forward as soon as he heard the firing and ordered a brigade from here to Bolton.⁷⁴ Our troops de-

⁶⁹ The battle of Raymond was fought in the Fourteen Mile Creek bottom, about two and one-half miles southwest of the town.

⁷⁰ General Carr commanded a division in General McClelland's XIII Corps. Carr's troops had spent the night of the 14th at Forest Hill. *Ibid.*, 616.

⁷¹ Major Taylor was from Bloomfield. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 918.

⁷² Steele's division, along with Tuttle's, had remained in Jackson on the 15th. Sherman kept Steele's and Tuttle's troops busy wreaking havoc on the railroads which led into Jackson. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 754.

⁷³ These were the opening guns in the battle of Champion Hill.

⁷⁴ Colonel Samuel A. Holmes' brigade of Crocker's division had also spent the night at Clinton. *Ibid.*, 776.

stroyed 200 hogshheads of sugar and a large amount of cotton at Jackson, belonging to the C. S. A. Our troops are all leaving the latter place and pushing toward Vicksburg and I think that a direct attack will soon be made upon that stronghold. "God defend the right," and bring this unnatural war to a close by the success of our glorious cause, "the salvation of the Union." Our division (the first to leave Jackson) reached Clinton at 2:30 o'clock and we immediately joined our brigade.

While in Clinton invited in the house of Mr. Botto, an Italian who kept a large store in Vicksburg, and drank some of the finest whiskey and rum I have yet tasted. Also smoked some nice cigars. The Division are overloaded with trophies from Jackson, fine clothes of every kind, tobacco, sugar, cigars, horses, buggies, fine coaches, in fact everything imaginable, and the quantity destroyed is beyond calculation. We whipped them badly there and drove them pell mell out of the place. The railroads are all destroyed in and about Jackson.

We marched till 9 P. M. then went into camp. Here we heard the news of McPherson's having met the rebels and whipped them today, after a tremendous fight — the rebs losing 18 pieces of artillery, 1,500 prisoners.⁷⁵ Our loss was awful, 2,500 killed and wounded and the rebels much more — the latter were scattered in every direction. The whole division gave three cheers for the result. This may be the battle decisive of the fate of Vicksburg. I hope it may be so as to save the further loss of life.⁷⁶

Sunday, the 17th. Left Bolton at 7 A. M. and marched steadily and almost without halting at a rapid pace in the direction of the bridge over Big Black. Heard heavy cannonading at 7:30. A 1 o'clock received a dispatch from General Grant that another fight had taken place near the Railroad bridge and the rebels again defeated. [Brigadier] General [Michael K.] Lawler charged with his brigade and took 8 cannon and 3,000 prisoners. The rebels then brought in ten more guns with all equipments complete and surrendered them.⁷⁷ The rebs retreated across Big Black and burned

⁷⁵ General Pemberton's army had been defeated by the men of McClernand's XIII and McPherson's XVII Corps in the battle of Champion Hill. The Confederates had lost 381 killed, 1,018 wounded, and 2,441 missing. Twenty-seven Confederate cannon had been captured. Union losses totaled 4,237 killed, wounded and missing. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 10.

⁷⁶ Captain Bell was correct. Champion Hill proved to be the decisive battle of the long, hard Vicksburg campaign.

⁷⁷ In the attack of the XIII Corps, spearheaded by Lawler's brigade, the Federals

both the R. R. Bridge and the other bridge. [The steamer *Dot*, which was moored athwart the river.] We are now 2 miles from Big Black at 2:30 o'clock. General Grant also confirms the taking of Richmond which, however, I yet consider doubtful. The rebel General [Joseph E.] Johnston is reported to be in our rear and following us from Jackson.⁷⁸ Reached Big Black at 4 o'clock and awaited the building of a pontoon bridge on which to cross, which was not completed until nearly midnight and we crossed at 1 o'clock, and lay until morning.⁷⁹ Marched 16 miles today.

Monday, the 18th. Started early this A. M., Blair's division having joined us.⁸⁰ He [Blair] took the advance and we went at a rapid pace with no interruption, until within about 3 miles of Vicksburg, when our advance came in contact with the rebel pickets.⁸¹ Skirmishing commenced immediately and continued heavily. This was at 4:30 o'clock. Our cannon went to the front and we were ordered to the extreme right and Company B sent out as skirmishers. The shells from a fortification $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant in front of us came over us but without doing any damage.⁸² We lay in line of battle behind a hill until dark and lay on our arms all night.

captured 18 guns and about 1,500 prisoners. All the cannon were captured in the initial Union charge. The Confederates did not bring up ten more guns in an effort to stop the bluecoats' breakthrough.

⁷⁸ General Johnston had reached Jackson on the evening of the 13th, the day before the battle of Jackson. Following the evacuation of Jackson, Johnston accompanied Gregg's troops as they fell back toward Canton. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 239-240.

⁷⁹ The 25th Iowa crossed the Big Black at Bridgeport.

⁸⁰ After playing a minor part in the battle of Champion Hill on the 16th, Blair's division had marched to Bridgeport. Here, Blair's division was joined by the remainder of the XV Corps. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 255-256.

⁸¹ The XV and XVII Corps approached Vicksburg via the Bridgeport road. This road brought the two corps against the defenses guarding the northeast approaches to the "Hill City." At the junction of the Bridgeport and Benton roads, Sherman halted his column briefly, while awaiting General Grant's arrival. When Grant rode up, he directed Sherman to operate on the right, McPherson in the center, and McClernand on the left. Resuming the advance, the XV Corps felt its way forward along the Graveyard road. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 755.

⁸² Steele's division was turned into the road which skirted the headwaters of Mint Spring Bayou. Steele had a three-fold objective. He was to reach the line of the bluffs (Walnut Hills), cut the roads linking Vicksburg with the Snyder's Bluff defenses, and re-establish contact with Porter's fleet above the Confederate stronghold. When he pushed forward, Steele deployed Thayer's brigade to the left, Woods' to the right, while holding Manter's in reserve. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 251. Colonel Charles R. Woods had assumed command of the brigade to which the 25th

Tuesday, the 19th. Skirmishing continued all night and we awoke this morning to find that the rebs had left their fort near us, spiking their largest gun. They left knapsacks, bayonets, blankets and everything. We also took two guns on our left.⁸³ General Grant is with the advance all the time. I am quite weak this morning, having eaten nothing since day before yesterday until this A. M., when I got a piece of cracker from Lieutenant [Samuel L.] Steele, Company B.⁸⁴ Our men in the advance are now cheering loudly.⁸⁵ It is 8:30 o'clock. Very little firing yet this A. M. After getting a small breakfast of 1/2 cracker we were taken around through gullies, single file, over hills, fallen trees, etc., so as to gain a position near the river. We succeeded in so doing without loss. After we had done so the "Flying Dutchman" [Captain Landgraeber] with . . . [four] of his guns made a most brilliant and daring dash over the hill amid a tempest of shot and shell, losing two horses and having one man wounded.⁸⁶

Later in the day our regiment was ordered to the front to act as sharpshooters. We gained our position on the brow of a hill, commanding the rebel rifle pits and a large Parrott gun, which sent grape and canister among us rather freely. This we almost silenced, but at one of the showers of grape, one of my best men, [Benjamin B.] Davison, was hit in the head and killed instantly.⁸⁷ Others in the regiment were hit also. We were relieved by the 76th Ohio and withdrew below the hill for the night.

Iowa was assigned on May 2, General Hovey having resigned from the army.

The Confederate troops who were opposing Steele's advance belonged to Brigadier General William E. Baldwin's brigade. Early in the afternoon, Baldwin had posted his troops in the advance line of rifle pits which the Southerners had thrown up to cover their main line of resistance. These rifle pits were located on Indian Mound Ridge. *Ibid.*, 401.

⁸³ Under the cover of darkness, Baldwin's command evacuated the advance rifle pits and retired into the main fortifications. When they fell back, the Southerners abandoned 3 guns, one of which was a 24-pounder siege gun. *Ibid.*, 401; Reichhelm, "The Taking of Vicksburg," *The Bayonne Herald*, Jan. 11, 1902.

⁸⁴ Samuel Steele was from Trenton, Iowa. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 993.

⁸⁵ After reaching the edge of the bluffs, the soldiers, realizing that contact with the fleet was about to be re-established, began to cheer wildly. Reichhelm, "The Taking of Vicksburg," *The Bayonne Herald*, Jan. 11, 1902.

⁸⁶ In his "After Action Report," Colonel Woods lists Landgraeber's losses as four horses, killed. The colonel makes no mention of any of the artillerists being wounded. *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 251.

⁸⁷ The position occupied by the 25th Iowa was on Indian Mound Ridge, a short distance east of where the National Cemetery is located. Benjamin B. Davison was from Burlington, Iowa. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 940.

During today in other parts of the field the rebels made a desperate charge to make their escape, but were mowed down like grass, our men waiting until they had approached within 30 paces and then gave them an awful volley of grape, canister and bullets. We have taken today, according to report, 4,000 prisoners, and the city is now entirely surrounded so that there is no chance of escape unless Johnston should get in our rear and make a diversion in their favor. The gunboats have done nothing yet. Our corps has taken already 3 forts and innumerable minor fortifications.⁸⁸ The whole distance from here to the city is one continual chain of forts, rifle pits and guns, but we will take it in spite of all.

Wednesday, the 20th. This morning one of the gunboats came down quite early and commenced shelling the . . . Water Battery just below us, with what result I do not yet know. A number of gunboats are apparently at work below this morning from the heavy sound of artillery.⁸⁹ The rebels in our vicinity this A. M. had their Parrott guns protected by cotton bales, but Hoffmann's battery finally succeeded in setting fire to the cotton and then dismounting the guns at 12 o'clock.⁹⁰ We are now trying to gain a position commanding the Water Battery, which sends an occasional shell rather too close for comfort. The rebels tried to get out at one point this morning, but were repulsed with heavy loss.⁹¹

We now have communication by a good road with our boats on the Yazoo and we will have no trouble in getting supplies, which have been rather short — Cases having actually occurred of \$1.00 being offered for a single hard cracker and refused. I have ate almost nothing for three days and have caught a violent cold and fever from sleeping on the bare ground without any covering. We have been lying here in the same place all day,

⁸⁸ There was no truth to the story Captain Bell had heard regarding a desperate charge by the Confederates. At 2 p. m., the Union troops, in accordance with Grant's orders, had moved against the Vicksburg defenses. Only in the Stockade Redan sector did the Federals press their attack with much vigor. Here, Blair's division was thrown back with heavy losses. In the day's fighting, the bluecoats suffered over 900 casualties. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 159-160.

⁸⁹ Under the cover of darkness, three of the ironclads attacked the Confederate River Defenses, south of Vicksburg. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 26-27.

⁹⁰ The 30-pounder Parrott was manned by a detachment from the 3d Missouri Battery.

⁹¹ There was no foundation to the rumor that the Confederates had tried to cut their way out of Vicksburg on the morning of the 20th.

the shells bursting among us and grape and rifle balls flying all the time. One man of Company B badly wounded in the head.⁹²

The rebels again attempted to get out this P. M., but were driven back at all points.⁹³ The firing was tremendous for an hour. We have gained some ground today and the "Flying Dutchman" has dismounted three guns.⁹⁴ Our mortars have been doing a little firing today, but don't think with any effect.⁹⁵ The gunboats do not seem to be at work at all yet.

Thursday, the 21st. Firing continued all night, the mortars sending shells during the entire night. The firing this morning was renewed with vigor and the roar of cannon is almost continual. The rebels seem determined to hold out as long as possible. The firing continued all day but the gunboats are not yet engaged. Haynes' [Snyder's] Bluff is now ours and a brigade is now occupying it.⁹⁶

Friday, the 22d. Today has been an eventful, awful day. At 10 o'clock this morning a general advance along our whole line was ordered on the enemy's works. I had a hot fever this morning and was told by the Surgeon not to go into the charge. I, however, resolved to go as far as I could. The advance was made all around with the exception of our division, which being compelled first to change its position to the left in order to charge, did not get in until late in the afternoon.⁹⁷ At 9 o'clock our brigade commenced to move, the 25th [Iowa] leading. I went as fast as I could, but on going up a steep ascent, I fell from absolute weakness and could go no further, and consequently made my way to where our teams were, being compelled to make frequent rests.

⁹² The Union pioneers opened a road leading from Walnut Hills to Captain Johnson's plantation on the Yazoo River. As soon as the road was declared open, heavily loaded wagon trains started rolling to the front. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 181-188.

⁹³ Like the morning report telling of a Confederate attack, this one was also untrue.

⁹⁴ The guns put out of action by Captain Landgraeber's battery were located on Fort Hill Ridge.

⁹⁵ Six mortar scows, each mounting a 13-inch mortar, had been moored on the west side of the De Soto Peninsula. These guns were manned by a naval detachment commanded by Gunner Eugene Mack. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. 25, p. 69.

⁹⁶ Like most Union soldiers, Captain Bell referred to Snyder's Bluff as Haynes Bluff. The major Confederate fortifications guarding the Yazoo were located at Snyder's Bluff, not Haynes Bluff.

⁹⁷ Steele's division was slated to attack the 26th Louisiana Redoubt.

Our brigade, in order to reach the necessary position to storm the enemy's works, had to run the gauntlet of the rebel batteries and rifles three times, through narrow gullies, over twisted vines, fallen trees, etc. Our regiment got through without much loss, but each succeeding regiment got cut up badly. At the last gully one of my best men was killed, Jas. B. Layton, shot through the body, and two more wounded. . . . [Johannes] Gubser seriously and . . . [Martin] Kirchmer through arm.⁹⁸

To charge the troops had to cross the brow of a hill which was swept by an incessant fire of grape, canister and rifle balls. Our left wing were sent to the brow of the hill to act as skirmishers, but the rebels behind their rifle pits could seldom be touched, and they mowed our men down like grass. Here Captain [James D.] Spearman, Company H, was badly wounded and Colonel [Charles H.] Abbott, 30th Iowa, was killed while mounting the crest of the hill.⁹⁹ Our troops got within 30 paces of the fort [the 26th Louisiana Redoubt] but could go no further, being opposed by a perpendicular wall of earth fully 12 feet high. There they lay until night. The loss of the regiment today is about 30 killed and wounded. I am very weak tonight and have a violent cold, which has settled in my chest. I cannot arrive at any approximation of our loss today, but it is enormous. I hear that on the left three forts were taken.¹⁰⁰

Saturday, the 23d. Very quiet today and very little firing. Our wounded came in slowly, it being impossible to reach them. I am some better today but had some fever and am quite weak. Our regiment got out late last night and are now back in the old place.¹⁰¹ Our colors have been rent 25 times and are torn to pieces almost. We hear today that Johnston is about 20 miles distant with some 8,000 men.¹⁰² It is now the intention to mine the

⁹⁸ James B. Layton, Martin Kirchmer and Johannes Gubser were from Burlington, Iowa. Gubser died from his wounds on June 19. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 949, 963, 966.

⁹⁹ James D. Spearman was from Mount Pleasant, Iowa. *Ibid.*, 998. The ravine up which Steele's troops charged was subsequently designated Abbott's Valley. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 394.

¹⁰⁰ In the attack on May 22, the Army of the Tennessee suffered 3,199 casualties. The 25th Iowa lost 5 killed, 27 wounded, and 5 missing. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 162, 165. On the left, McClelland's troops reached the ditch in front of the 2d Texas Lunette and drove the 30th Alabama out of the Railroad Redoubt. Confederate counterattacks, however, forced the bluecoats to relinquish these gains.

¹⁰¹ The regiment returned to the Indian Mound Ridge.

¹⁰² At this time, Johnston was at Canton, 55 miles northeast of Vicksburg.

rebels' works and get them out or blow 'em up. This is the only way in which the place can be reduced without immense loss of life.

Sunday, the 24th. Desultory firing was commenced again today. We now have two 30-pounder Parrotts planted near our regiment.¹⁰³ A deserter, who came in last night, reports that the gunboats and mortars caused immense destruction to the horses and mules of the rebels, and that they killed a large number of women and children.¹⁰⁴ This is horrible but it is only one of the many terrible results of besieging a city.

Received two letters from my wife this A. M., the first since leaving Richmond. Feel some better this morning; my cold is yet violent, however. Wrote letters to wife and father-in-law.

Our regimental colors have, by actual count, 28 holes in them and one through the staff, received Friday. Very little firing today — some respect being paid to the Sabbath. The wounded have mostly been transferred to the transports today.

Monday, the 25th. Firing resumed at intervals this A. M., the mortars seeming to fire more regularly than the others. Mining was commenced last night and some definite result will be arrived at soon. The two 30-pounder Parrotts placed near where our regiment is lying are doing good execution. On Saturday a ball from one of them hit the 9-inch gun in the Water Battery, which has done us so much damage, broke it and destroyed the carriage.¹⁰⁵

Yesterday they also hit two cotton forts and demolished them, setting the cotton on fire. There is but little firing today. At 5 P. M. the rebels proposed a flag of truce until 8 P. M. in order to bury the dead, which was acceded to. In the meantime the men of both armies conversed amicably together and a large number of rebels took advantage of the occasion to come into our lines.¹⁰⁶ Received two more letters from wife today.

¹⁰³ The two 30-pounder Parrotts were manned by the 8th Battery, Ohio Light Artillery. These guns were emplaced near where the Naval Monument now stands.

¹⁰⁴ Very few civilians were killed during the siege. The fire of the naval guns, however, killed a large number of cattle belonging to the Confederate commissary. John T. Trowbridge, *The Desolate South, 1865-1866*, Gordon Carroll, ed (New York, 1956), 191; O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 58-59.

¹⁰⁵ Confederate reports make no mention of any damage to guns in the Water Battery on May 25. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 337.

¹⁰⁶ Pemberton, on the 25th, wrote Grant:

Two days have elapsed since your dead and wounded have been lying

Tuesday, the 26th. Firing resumed this morning, especially from the mortar boats, the effect of whose shells the rebels acknowledged to be awful. From information derived from the deserters, 5 days rations were issued to them yesterday and it was thought they would attempt to break through our lines.¹⁰⁷ Our regiment was stationed on picket, but the rebels did not attempt anything. We are digging rifle pits and erecting fortifications all around, evidently to make it a regular siege.

Reliable news just received announces the actual arrival of General Banks at Warrenton.¹⁰⁸ Our cavalry had a skirmish with Johnston's forces yesterday and brought off about 200 prisoners. Johnston is only about 12 miles off and I can hear that he has about 8,000 troops.¹⁰⁹ [Brigadier] General [Jacob G.] Lauman was sent out to rout him.¹¹⁰ Received two more letters from wife today.

Wednesday, the 27th. Two brigades passed here this A. M. to reinforce Lauman in his attack upon Joe Johnston. I hear 3 more brigades were also sent.¹¹¹ Firing more brisk today. A large fire was seen in Vicksburg last night — don't know what it was.¹¹² Our regiment relieved Manter's brigade this A. M. and are now posted on the extreme right in the rifle pits and within 40 yards of the Water Battery.

This A. M. at 10 o'clock one of our gunboats, I think the "Cincinnati,"

in our front, and as yet no disposition on your part of a desire to remove them being exhibited in the name of humanity I have the honor to propose a cessation of hostilities for two hours and a half that you may be enabled to remove your dead and dying men.

Grant acceded to Pemberton's proposition and designated 6 p. m. as the hour when the truce should begin. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 276-277.

¹⁰⁷ There was no substance to the report that the Confederates were planning to cut their way out of Vicksburg.

¹⁰⁸ The reported arrival of General Banks at Warrenton was untrue. At this time, Banks' army was besieging Port Hudson. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXVI, pt. 1, 43-44.

¹⁰⁹ A bluecoated cavalry column had advanced up the Benton road on the 23rd. Encountering Confederate outposts near Mechanicsburg, the troopers returned to Snyder's Bluff. There had been no engagement with the Rebels. Instead of being only 12 miles away, Johnston's army was still at Canton. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 89; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 441; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 356.

¹¹⁰ Bell was mistaken. General Blair and not General Lauman had been placed in charge of the strong force which Grant planned to send up the "Mechanicsburg Corridor." O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 285, 302; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 352.

¹¹¹ In all, six infantry brigades were assigned to Blair's command. *Ibid.*

¹¹² Several buildings had been set on fire in the city on the night of the 26th by the Union mortars.

came down and engaged the batteries. It lasted $\frac{3}{4}$ hour. The scene was an awful one. The boat was struck many times and lost her jack staff, flag mast, etc. She was as close as she could be to the batteries and delivered her fire, but soon withdrew, being apparently much damaged. She sunk at 11 o'clock on the Mississippi side; 24 men were killed and wounded on her. She is an old boat just fixed over and sent down here.¹¹³ She was sunk at Ft. Donelson, during the attack on that place.¹¹⁴ One man of Company A of our regiment was killed today. Wrote letter to wife this P. M.

Thursday, the 28th. It is reported that the rebels have sent a great many of their women and children across to Young's Point for safety.¹¹⁵ The siege still continues with no prospect of closing soon. If Johnston is defeated they may come to terms. Corporal [Henry] Beck of Company D, was killed today, having unwittingly exposed himself.¹¹⁶ A courier of Pemberton's was captured last night who bore dispatches to Johnston telling him that he must attack within 3 days and have 50,000 men or it would be useless. Received letter from wife dated May 20.¹¹⁷

Friday, the 29th. Cannonading began with more rapidity this morning. Last evening our boys and the rebs had a two hours talk on an armistice of their own. The rebels all agreed in saying "if you northwestern boys will only go home, we'll clear out the rest devilish quick."

Four more large 30-pounder Parrotts went up to General Sherman's headquarters today, which will soon be brought to bear upon the rebels. . . . [Rear Admiral David G.] Farragut is said to have silenced one of the

¹¹³ The *Cincinnati* was one of the seven Eads "City Series" ironclads. In the sinking of the *Cincinnati*, 19 of her crew were killed, 14 wounded, and one captured. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 42-43; *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 340.

¹¹⁴ Captain Bell was mistaken — The *Cincinnati* had not participated in the attack on Fort Donelson. The ironclad had been badly damaged in the attack on Fort Henry on February 6, 1862, and sent to Cairo, Illinois, for repairs.

¹¹⁵ There is no documentary evidence to support the story which Captain Bell had heard stating that the Confederates were evacuating women and children from Vicksburg to Young's Point.

¹¹⁶ Henry Beck, a resident of Burlington, had enlisted in the 25th Iowa as a corporal on July 31, 1862. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 926.

¹¹⁷ General Pemberton, on the 29th, sent a message to Johnston. Pemberton informed Johnston at this time that it would require an army of not less than 30,000 to relieve Vicksburg. Continuing, Pemberton observed, "My men are in good spirits, awaiting your arrival." *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 930.

lower batteries today and then withdrew.¹¹⁸ At 5 P. M. a general cannonading commenced all around the line and continued for 1/2 hour with what result I know not. The noise was tremendous. There is no news from Johnston's army yet.

Saturday, the 30th. The mortar boats kept up an almost continuous fire last night, making it difficult to sleep. The rebels are evidently getting short of ammunition, as they seldom reply to our guns. Nothing of interest has transpired today. Wrote letter to Father Bell today.

Sunday, the 31st. The rebels did a bold thing last night. About 12 o'clock they got into three yawls at the city, rowed up to where our gunboat "Cincinnati" lay partly sunk and burned her, and they returned by the light of the burning boat. The gunboat had no guard owing to somebody's neglect.¹¹⁹

At 3 this A. M. a tremendous firing commenced, cannonading and musketry, which lasted 3/4 of an hour; the cause is yet unknown to me, although it is thought the rebels attempted to get out on our left and were repulsed.¹²⁰ Northern papers announce the capture of V., a little too soon yet. Sent my things to the regiment today, also wrote letter to wife. Dr. tells me to be careful for fear of lung fever. In the rifle pits this evening.

Monday, June 1. Have been writing during the day, filling out my muster and pay rolls, making out monthly returns, etc., while the balls whistle around me quite freely. The rebels, however, are comparatively quiet today, it being very warm. The Colonel's wife arrived today. Rather a questionable place for a lady, it seems to me. Went through the entire rifle pits this evening. One of Company B, a Sergeant, was killed today by cannon ball.

¹¹⁸ In the period from May 29 through June 3, two Union ironclads (the *Benton* and the *Mound City*) took turns anchoring below South Fort and shelling the Confederate works. None of the lower batteries, however, were silenced by this fire. Lieutenant Commander James A. Greer was in charge of the bombardment squadron, charged with the attacks on these fortifications. At this time, Admiral Farragut was supporting General Banks' army at Port Hudson. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 50-54, 58.

¹¹⁹ The Confederate raiding party consisted of 47 volunteers from the 1st and 3d Missouri Cavalry Regiments (dismounted) commanded by Captain James W. Barclay. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 372, 933-934; *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 422.

¹²⁰ There was no attempt on the part of the Confederates to cut their way out of Vicksburg early on the morning of the 31st.

Tuesday, the 2d. A big fire in Vicksburg last night and sharp firing on the left — don't know the cause.¹²¹ The rebs are now living on pea bread, according to a deserter who came in, their corn meal being exhausted. The rebs shoot but little, caused I think by lack of ammunition. Have been engaged all day in completing muster rolls and fixing up my papers generally. Weather very warm — almost suffocating. Went down to the river this evening in full view of three of the rebel forts, where I could see the city plainly and witness the explosion of the shells from the mortars. The sight was grand.

Wednesday, the 3d. Our men did a great deal of work last night, running our rifle pits to within 20 yards of the rebel Water Battery, so that we now have complete control of the battery.¹²² Have been writing all day nearly. Rumors come of Bragg coming down to the rescue, with Rosy after him.¹²³ Received letter from wife and Father-in-law today. Wrote to wife today. Received papers containing accounts of the jubilee over the taking of Vicksburg — rather premature.

Thursday, the 4th. Was in the rifle pits most of the night. Our working party was fired on about 10:30 o'clock and we were all under arms for two hours. The gunboats below did considerable firing last night. Have been writing all day. Reports come of a fight near Milliken's Bend between some of our negro regiments and a large body of rebs. The rebs were badly whipped and the negroes took 17 prisoners.¹²⁴ Bully for them! Was officer of the day, and posted the pickets tonight. Had to be up all night.

Friday, the 5th. Have been writing most of the day. Received news today of a fight at Big Black Bridge between [Brigadier] General [Peter J.] Osterhaus and the rebel [Major] General [William W.] Loring (one armed Loring) in which the rebs were defeated. We took 3,000 prisoners. Gen-

¹²¹ On the night of the 1st, a large fire broke out near the magazine of the Whig Office Battery. All the men assigned to Colonel Edward Higgins' River Defense Command, who could be spared from their posts, were turned out to fight the conflagration. After a hard battle, the fire was finally brought under control. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 338.

¹²² Since the Confederates had thrown up traverses, the Union sharpshooters were unable to force the heavy artillerists to abandon the big guns. *Ibid.*, 337.

¹²³ There was no substance to the report that General Bragg was marching to the relief of Vicksburg with Rosecrans close behind him.

¹²⁴ This rumor, telling of a June 4 attack by the Confederates on Milliken's Bend, was premature. The Confederates moved against Milliken's Bend on the 7th.

eral Osterhaus is reported mortally wounded.¹²⁵ Assisted Captain Alter in posting the pickets tonight.

Saturday, the 6th. The rebs fired grape and canister at our working party last night and they came very close to my bunk, in fact went through the roof. Governor [Samuel J.] Kirkwood, Adjutant General [Nathaniel B.] Baker and Dr. Hughes of Iowa visited us today. Had a short conversation with them. Weather awful hot. We are preparing today to roll some heavy shells from the mound into the rebel rifle pits tonight, they being just beneath and about 30 feet off.

Sunday, the 7th. Heard very heavy firing of the gunboats in the direction of Milliken's Bend this morning at daylight, which continued until 10 o'clock. Heard that the firing was caused by an attack upon that place of a rebel force variously estimated at from 2 to 6,000, with 4 pieces of artillery — don't know the result.¹²⁶ Very little firing here today. Wrote letter to wife this P. M.

Monday, the 8th. The rebs commenced a heavy fire of artillery this A. M., throwing 10-pounder percussion shells almost into our camp and directly over our heads, passing within a few feet — no one hurt. There were six deserters came in last night to our regiment. All glad to get out.

The rebs made a heavy demonstration at Young's Point and Milliken's Bend yesterday, with the evident intention to draw forces from here. At Young's Point our forces consisted of about 300 sick men and about a dozen negroes.¹²⁷ Captain [James A.] Smith of our regiment, Company B, was there. We had a number of steamers at the landing, only one of which had steam up. The rebels appeared about 9 A. M., numbering 5,000 men, in-

¹²⁵ There was no substance to the report that a Union force under Osterhaus had defeated a Confederate column led by Loring. General Osterhaus was in charge of the Union troops charged with the defense of the Big Black Bridge. *Ibid.*, 209.

¹²⁶ Brigadier General Henry E. McCulloch's Texas brigade (1,500 strong) attacked Milliken's Bend at daybreak. In the savage fighting which ensued, the Texans forced the bluecoats to fall back behind a levee which fronted the river. Here, supported by the fire of the ironclad *Choctaw*, the Union infantry rallied. Unable to cross the levee, the Southerners fell back. *Ibid.*, 467-470.

¹²⁷ Captain Bell was mistaken. In addition to the casualties and Negroes, there were three infantry regiments (the 108th, 120th, and 131st Illinois) posted at Young's Point. *Ibid.*, 471-472; O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 161-162. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois*, VI (Springfield, 1900), 72-73, 368, 606.

cluding 1,500 cavalry and 3 pieces of artillery.¹²⁸ Captain Smith was told to take command and hold the rebs in check as long as he could. He went to work at once, armed the sick and negroes with old muskets, few of which were of use, and deployed them along on the west side of the levee. While doing this he was interrupted by a brave Captain who claimed command by virtue of the oldest commission. Smith willingly gave up to him, but when the new commander saw the force opposed to him he all at once became too sick to attend to his command and Smith was reinstated immediately.

The rebels advanced in beautiful line of battle and their cavalry was sent to the right with the intention of turning Smith's flank and cutting him off, but he perceiving it, withdrew his brave little command behind the levee. The rebels feared a trap and mistaking Smith's entire force for merely advance skirmishers broke and fled back to the woods without firing a shot. This I consider one of the most brilliant victories we have gained, although bloodless. We had no cannon and nothing but coolness and impudence saved our boats and stores, worth a vast sum, from being destroyed. Bully for Smith!¹²⁹

Tuesday, the 9th. The rebels made another attempt to get out yesterday or last night and were again repulsed with loss.¹³⁰ My Company (E) and Company K were put in the pits at 12 P. M. and we remained until morning. At about 5 P. M. I mounted the Adjutant's pony for a ride to the landing to try and get my drummer boy Harry [V.] Foote up home with Captain Smith and Lieutenant [Adoniram] Withrow, who are going home.¹³¹ Rode past the scene of last December's operations. Saw where I worked all day and night of December 29, throwing up fortifications. Did not succeed in my mission and returned at 1 A. M. at night.

¹²⁸ James A. Smith, a resident of Mount Pleasant, had been appointed a captain in the regiment on August 13, 1862. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 993. The Confederate force which marched against Young's Point contained 1,400 infantry, supported by a small detachment of cavalry. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 471.

¹²⁹ Brigadier General James M. Hawes, the officer in charge of the Confederate force which moved against Young's Point, ordered his troops to fall back when he sighted the three Union regiments filing into position. In addition, two Union tinclads had taken position off Young's Point. *Ibid.*, 471.

¹³⁰ No attempt was made by the Confederates to cut their way out of Vicksburg on the night of the 8th.

¹³¹ Henry V. Foote was from Burlington, while Adoniram Withrow was from Salem, Iowa. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 946, 1008.

Wednesday, the 10th. The rebels took away their guns in the Water Battery last night.¹³² Owing to the stupidity of our sentinel they were undetected. Heavy rain today, filling the pits with water. 5 more deserters came in last night. Lieutenant Colonel [Fabian] Brydolf has resigned and gone home today and application has been made for a position for him in the Invalid Corps.¹³³ Went down to the landing again today with Harry Foote. Saw him safely on the "Westmoreland." Remained all night because of a heavy and long continued storm. Slept on the floor of the cabin.

Thursday, the 11th. Returned to camp this A. M. through the mud, in the ambulance. The news today is very exciting and important. 1st, Johnston has crossed Big Black in 2 places to attack us and Grant has 13,000 in his rear. 2d, 10,000 more men arrived today from above and 38,000 more are coming. 3d, it is reported that our army corps is to make another assault upon the rebel works.¹³⁴ I hardly believe it, for it is fool-hardy and useless in my opinion. Officer of Day again and posted the pickets this evening.

Friday, the 12th. Nothing of importance took place today. A general order issued by General Sherman today providing for more strict and watchful attention on our part and indicating another attack soon. It concludes as follows: "The magnificent task assigned to this Army should inspire every officer and soldier to the greatest exertions. A little more hard work, great vigilance, and a short struggle and Vicksburg is ours." Received letter from wife and Father-in-law today.

Saturday, the 13th. Today according to rumor, a grand bombardment is to begin to last 48 hours, unless the city surrenders. The awful cannonade did not come off. Occasional firing all day but no general action. There is no doubt now of our ability to keep any force attempting to relieve the city at bay, as General Grant affirms that he has 45,000 men to protect the rear.

Sunday, the 14th. A new battery just planted on the opposite side of the

¹³² Captain Bell was mistaken — The Confederates did not remove any of their big guns from the Water Battery on the night of the 9th.

¹³³ Fabian Brydolf was a resident of Burlington. The colonel had resigned from the army on June 8. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 918.

¹³⁴ Of these three reports, only the one pertaining to the arrival of reinforcements was true. The transports with Major General Francis J. Herron's division aboard reached Young's Point on June 11. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 158.

river opened on the rebel batteries this morning.¹³⁵ The first shot came rather near our regiment, but on hoisting our colors the gun was turned a little more to the right. Very little firing today. Wrote letter to wife; also to "Hawkeye," giving accounts of the dialogues with the rebs. Appointed brigade officer of the day. Our regiment commenced building a new battery to command the Water Battery tonight. Made the guard rounds at 2 in the morning, nearly ran into the rebel pickets.

Monday, the 15th. Firing resumed at intervals today. The rebs sent a boat or two to attack our new battery across the river last night, but we discovered them and the "Flying Dutchman" ran 'em back with a few shells. Received letter from wife today.¹³⁶

Tuesday, the 16th. According to the dispatches from Pemberton to Johnston, found in a rebel woman's hair a few days ago, today is the limit of time which Pemberton can hold the city. Deserters say he has been burning his guns and preparing to surrender for some days. It has turned out, however, to be untrue, although there is doubt that they can hold out but a few days longer. Fires can be seen daily and nightly in the city. On reserve picket again tonight. Two deserters came in tonight. They say that the only mill in the city has been destroyed by our shells.¹³⁷ They are now living on rice bread.

Wednesday, the 17th. The rebels opened on our new battery this A. M. with shells and grape; no one hurt, although our tents below were riddled with pieces of shell and grape shot. We have been on duty in the rifle pits all day. Closed the day with singing in chorus the glorious Star Spangled Banner and other patriotic songs in the pits just before we were relieved, which the rebels could hear plainly.

Thursday, the 18th. One month ago today the siege commenced. Little

¹³⁵ A detachment of sailors from the ironclad *Choctaw* had mounted a 10-inch columbiad, a IX-inch Dahlgren, and a 100-pounder Parrott rifle in scows. The scows had been moored near the head of De Soto Peninsula. With these pieces, the tars opened fire on the Vicksburg water front and the river batteries. *Ibid.*, 338; O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 69, 83, 104.

¹³⁶ The Confederate small boats carried a raiding party which planned to blow up the hulk of the *Cincinnati*. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 252-253, 338, 695.

¹³⁷ A battery of 24-pounder siege guns had been given the mission of destroying the large flour mill located at Pheland's Crossing. The Union gunners, however, were unable to carry out their mission.

firing today. Received letter from wife. Saw also a communication in the "Argus" — some one accusing me of cowardice, etc. May his lies recoil on his own head, is all I can say. Wrote letter to wife today, also to J. P. Brown, in which enclosed \$2.70 for illustrated papers. Nothing new today.

Friday, the 19th. Our men under Lieutenant Davison dug a new rifle pit last night, which commands the place where the rebs go to the river to bathe, and ten crack shots were put in it early this A. M., who fired a volley at about 50 naked rebs, forcing them to leave suddenly, leaving their clothes on the shore. Their sharpshooters fired a volley in return, killing Andy Willem of Company G.¹³⁸ The rebs fired some heavy shots towards our batteries this evening. The Dutchman replied and silenced the rebs. On reserve picket again this evening.

Saturday, the 20th. Ordered at 2 o'clock this A. M. to move my company to the new rifle pit just dug. Did so at 5 o'clock this A. M. A general cannonading commenced, lasting until 10 o'clock. All the troops were put under arms in readiness to resist an attack of the rebs to break out or to make an assault if necessary. We remained in the pits during the cannonade.

Saturday, the 27th. Have been very sick indeed during the past week. Unable to be off my bed, write a letter or do anything — disease, intermittent fever; today I am a little better; very weak. The weather extremely hot and a great many are sick. We were paid off for March and April today. I received \$253.75. Received several letters during the week from wife; also the letter containing my boy's picture. I was delighted with it and much astonished to find I was the father of so nice, fine and healthy looking baby as our Charlie looks to be.

Rumors came of the fall of Port Hudson yesterday.¹³⁹ Hope it's true. Another general cannonade took place on Thursday with the result of a fort blown up and occupied by our forces on the left center.¹⁴⁰ Rumors of an-

¹³⁸ Andrew Willem, a resident of Burlington, had enlisted in the 25th Iowa on August 22, 1862. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, III, 1010.

¹³⁹ There was no substance to the reported fall of Port Hudson.

¹⁴⁰ On the 25th, a mine had been detonated by the Union engineers under the 3d Louisiana Redan. Following the springing of the mine, the Federals had attacked and occupied the crater. The next day, the bluecoats abandoned the crater and fell back. Andrew Hickenlooper, "The Vicksburg Mine," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, III, 538-542.

other fight with Johnston's forces reaches [us] with no particulars.¹⁴¹

Saturday, July 4th. Hail glorious 4th, made thrice glorious by the success of our long toil! Vicksburg is ours! Pemberton surrendered at 9 o'clock this A. M. Terms unconditional.¹⁴² Nothing of importance has transpired during the past week. My health is slowly improving. Visited a part of the rebel works today. Saw some of the big guns, among others the "Lady Davis," "Do Do Baby," and "Whistling Dick." The fleet came down about noon, firing salutes as they came. Cannot express my joy in words.

¹⁴¹ The report of the engagement with Johnston's Army of Relief was without foundation.

¹⁴² While Grant's initial demand was for the unconditional surrender of the Vicksburg garrison, he subsequently modified it. Instead of being shipped to Northern prison camps, the Confederates would be allowed to sign paroles not to fight until exchanged. Furthermore, the Southern officers were to be permitted to retain their private property and side-arms. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 284-285.

THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF AN IOWA SOLDIER AT VICKSBURG

THE 4TH IOWA INFANTRY AT VICKSBURG

The 4th Iowa Infantry was organized under the proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln dated May 3, 1861. The companies constituting the regiment were mustered into Federal service at two places — Camp Kirkwood near Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Jefferson Barracks, Missouri — on various dates ranging between August 8 and August 31, 1861. Grenville M. Dodge of Council Bluffs was made a colonel and placed in command of the regiment by Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood. Originally, it was planned to employ the companies which had been organized at Council Bluffs to repel an invasion of Iowa by the Missourians. Before the Iowans were ready to move, however, the Secessionist contingents in northwest Missouri had disbanded.

The companies of the 4th Iowa which had been mustered in at Council Bluffs were accordingly sent to St. Louis. By August 15, all of the companies except I and K had reached Benton Barracks.

On August 24, the eight companies left Benton Barracks for Rolla, Missouri. The 4th Iowa was destined to remain at Rolla for over four months. Companies I and K were finally mustered into Federal service on August 31. Leaving Benton Barracks on September 13, the two companies joined the regiment at Rolla. In the following months, detachments consisting of one or more companies of the regiment were from time to time sent on reconnoitering expeditions. In the period from November 1-9, combat patrols from the 4th Iowa visited Houston and Salem, Missouri.

No important movements were undertaken by the Iowans until January 22, 1862. At that time, the regiment (as a unit in Brigadier General Samuel R. Curtis' Army of the Southwest) left Rolla. Pressing rapidly forward, Curtis' army forced Major General Sterling Price's Missouri troops to evacuate Springfield, Missouri. Price's army fell back into northwestern Arkansas. Here, it was joined by the Confederate force led by Brigadier General Ben McCulloch. Curtis' army followed the Confederates as they retreated.

After the Southerners had withdrawn into the Boston Mountains, Curtis halted his army and took position behind Little Sugar Creek.

Major General Earl Van Dorn now arrived in northwest Arkansas. Assuming command of McCulloch's and Price's troops, Van Dorn seized the initiative and attacked Curtis' army. In the battle of Pea Ridge, fought on March 7 and 8, the Union troops emerged victorious. Among the Union units which played a leading role in this battle was the 4th Iowa.

Following the battle of Pea Ridge, the 4th Iowa went into camp for several weeks. Dodge was promoted to brigadier general, and James A. Williamson of Des Moines was advanced to the rank of colonel and placed in command of the regiment.

On April 5, Curtis' army broke camp and started for Batesville, Arkansas, which was occupied on May 3. After pausing to regroup, Curtis' army pressed onward toward Helena, Arkansas. Curtis' column entered Helena on July 14. The 4th Iowa remained at Helena until December 22, when the regiment was marched to the levee and boarded a transport. In the meantime, the 4th Iowa had been assigned to the division commanded by Major General Frederick Steele. Steele's division was one of the units assigned to Major General William T. Sherman's amphibious force. Sherman's objective was Vicksburg. (Sherman's attack was to be made in conjunction with Major General Ulysses S. Grant's drive down the Mississippi Central Railroad.)

The 4th Iowa landed at Johnson's plantation on the Yazoo River on the day after Christmas. In the attack on the Confederate defenses at Chickasaw Bayou on December 29, the 4th Iowa suffered heavy losses. Repulsed, the Federals fell back to their boats on New Year's Day. Sherman's command then returned to Milliken's Bend.

Following Major General John A. McClernand's arrival at Milliken's Bend, Sherman was superseded. McClernand led the army against the Post of Arkansas, which fell on January 11, 1863. The 4th Iowa was engaged in this operation. After the fall of the Post of Arkansas, the 4th Iowa Regiment (along with the rest of McClernand's command) returned to the Vicksburg area and camped at Young's Point.

In the meantime, Grant's drive down the Mississippi Central Railroad had foundered. Grant now transferred most of his troops to the Vicksburg Theater of Operations. Upon his arrival at Milliken's Bend, Grant assigned Steele's division to Sherman's XV Corps.

The 4th Iowa remained at Young's Point until April 2. The 4th Iowa, along with the other regiments of Steele's division, participated in the Greenville Expedition in April. Following their return from Greenville, the Iowans marched southward to Hard Times Landing. Crossing the Mississippi River at the end of the first week in May, the 4th Iowa joined Grant on his march northeastward.

During the extensive operations east of Vicksburg, the regiment was not actively engaged in any battles. After Grant's army closed in on Vicksburg, the 4th Iowa saw plenty of action.¹

THE DIARIST: ARCH M. BRINKERHOFF

Arch M. Brinkerhoff was 18 years old when he enlisted. He had been severely wounded in the face at the battle of Chickasaw Bayou. Brinkerhoff doesn't mention in his diary the horrible scars he must have been carrying — only that he left the hospital before he was discharged, and stowed away on a boat bound down river. Brinkerhoff rejoined his regiment and took part in the fighting during the last days of the campaign. Evidently, he was still weak from his wounds but did not let this deter him. A resident of Afton, Iowa, Brinkerhoff was not too well-educated, but he was observant and recorded his impressions well.

He felt little if any bitterness towards the Rebels. One can almost believe that he found the war a game.²

After being wounded at the battle of Chickasaw Bayou, Brinkerhoff was sent north to a hospital. He returned to duty several days after the Union army had invested Vicksburg. The excerpt from his diary, published here, begins on May 26, 1863.

¹ *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion — Together with Historical Sketches of Volunteer Organizations, 1861-1866*, Vol. I (Des Moines, 1908), 527-529; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, 1908), 1166.

² *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 553.

DIARY OF PRIVATE ARCH M. BRINKERHOFF, CO. H, 4TH IOWA INFANTRY, AT VICKSBURG

Tuesday May 26 - 1863

All pretty quiet to day except now and then a shot. [Frederick M.] Hoover and I ask for permission to go to the Regiment but are refused. So we intend to go any way in the Morning.¹

Wednesday 27th.

This Morning, Hoover and I start for the regiment (the 4th Iowa Inf.) We arrive at the upper boat landing just as the "Ben Franklin" was swinging around from shore.² By running across another boat we succeeded in jumping on the "Franklin" as she was turning around. We did not know when we jumped on where the boat was going to, but [she] . . . turned up the Yazoo river. We steamed on up the Yazoo and landed at Chickasaw Bayou.³ From there we started for the regiment on foot. It was a very warm day, and I could not go far without resting. We passed along over the place where I was wounded.⁴ It was considerably changed.

Then after climbing a number of large hills, passing several old forts, we come in sight of the two contending armies.⁵ There was but little firing,

¹ Frederick M. Hoover, a resident of Afton, had enlisted in the 4th Iowa on July 13, 1861. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 597.

² The *Ben Franklin* was a transport.

³ Major General Ulysses S. Grant's Army of the Tennessee had re-established contact with the Union fleet above Vicksburg on May 19. While the pioneers were opening roads to be used in moving supplies from the Yazoo River to Grant's hungry army, the commissary and quartermaster departments established a large supply depot. This depot was located at the mouth of Chickasaw Bayou. Francis V. Greene, *The Mississippi* (New York, 1883), 127.

⁴ On December 29, the 4th Iowa had crossed Chickasaw Bayou at the corduroy bridge. Swinging to the right, the Iowans had moved against the rifle pits held by Colonel Allen Thomas' combat team (the 42d Georgia and the 29th Louisiana). Brinkerhoff had been shot in the face and severely wounded during this charge. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 553; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XVII, pt. I, 658-660, 682-683, 692, 695. (Cited hereafter as O. R.)

⁵ At this time, the brigade to which the 4th Iowa was assigned was commanded by Brigadier General John M. Thayer. Four Iowa infantry regiments (the 4th, 9th, 26th, and 30th) were brigaded under Thayer. The Iowa brigade was one of the three brigades assigned to Major General Frederick Steele's division. Steele's division be-

as it was in the heat of the day. We passed down a deep hollow to the Regiment. Found them [the soldiers] camped behind a large hill as a protection from the iron and leaden hail. Our works were on the top of the hill, and the rebels on the next hill.⁶

On the top of the hill in our front, we had two batteries. One [of] Rifled Parrotts and the other the 1st Iowa Brass Battery.⁷ We have a few sharpshooters in the works all the time.

Thursday 28th

This Morning everything pretty quiet, and we have scarcely anything to eat. We buy some sardines, crackers, & gingerbread.⁸ I went up on the Fort, to see them practice shooting. They raise the dirt on the Forts and some of the shots goes right into the embrasures of the forts. The rebels in our front do not fire any cannon, for we have so many batteries that can be brought to bear on one point that they dare not fire. In the evening some rain. I get a letter from home.

Friday the 29th

This morning considerable firing going on along the line. I take a trip over to the Hospital to see F. A. Westover who is sick.⁹ Come back write a letter home.

Some firing in the afternoon, rain a little in the evening. According to Orders firing begins along the whole line near us. Infantry & Artillery longed to Major General William T. Sherman's XV Army Corps. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 152.

⁶ Sherman's corps held the right flank of the iron ring which Grant was in the process of forging around "Fortress" Vicksburg. In the sector occupied by Steele's division, the Union and Confederate lines were on opposite ridges. Mint Spring Bayou flows through the deep valley which separated the Federal right from the Rebel left. The camp of the 4th Iowa was in a hollow, behind Bell Smith Ridge. *Topographical Map of Vicksburg National Military Park*, prepared under the direction of the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, by the Vicksburg National Park Commission, 1903.

⁷ The 1st Battery, Iowa Light Artillery had emplaced their four 6-pounders and two 12-pounder howitzers behind strong earthworks on top of Bell Smith Ridge. Four 20-pounder Parrott rifles manned by Battery H, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, were mounted behind a parapet about 100 yards east of the Iowa battery. Three days later, the Illinoisians moved their guns to a different section of the investment line. *Ibid.*, *Inscription on Tablet on Bell Smith Ridge*, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

⁸ By this time, the omnipresent sutlers had already set up shop.

⁹ Fleming A. Westover, a resident of Afton, had enlisted in the 4th Iowa as a private on July 25, 1861. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 669.

mixed with a few Mortar shells.¹⁰ The firing lasted about one hour. And then we let them [the Confederates] rest again. Their infantry replied but their Artillery kept silent. At night we go down on the point to the right of us and throw up some breastworks, in plain view of the rebels, for the moon shines bright. We work until midnight.

Saturday 30th

Today some firing along the line. I draw me a new Enfield rifle.¹¹ [It] rained a little. Another detail [has] to dig in at night. I sleep to night.

Sunday 31st.

This morning about 3 o'clock, the Artillery opens fire, and kept up a heavy fire for an hour. Weather very warm to day. I write a letter to New York.¹²

Monday, June 1st.

Today went over the hill to the sutler store. Very warm. Some firing all day. In the evening our Company detailed for picket guard. As soon as it became dark, the boys get up on the works and commence jawing each other. . . . [They] keep it up for about two hours.¹³

While [there] you can see the Mortar Shells as they start from the Mortars two miles above town and ascend high up in the Air and come down in and around the City exploding generally Just before they strike the ground.¹⁴ We stood guard just over the Works.

¹⁰ Six scows, each mounting one 13-inch mortar, had been moored near the head of De Soto Peninsula. Gunner Eugene Mack was in charge of the mortar flotilla. Except when forced to restrict their activities as a result of ammunition shortages, the sailors manning the mortars fired an average of 180 rounds into the city during a 24-hour period. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 69, 83, 104. (Cited hereafter as O. R. N.)

¹¹ The Enfield rifle-musket was of British manufacture. Most of the Confederate garrison at Vicksburg was equipped with these excellent weapons.

¹² Brinkerhoff had been born in New York. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 553.

¹³ As in other theaters of operations during the Civil War, conversation and fraternization along the picket lines were a common occurrence. At the Stockade Redan, where several Missouri regiments in blue faced the 3d Missouri Confederate, this practice was especially widespread. This area became known as the "trysting place." O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 409; Ltr., T. T. Taylor to W. T. Rigby, March 19, 1903 (files, Vicksburg National Military Park).

¹⁴ Since the mortars were a high-trajectory weapon, it was possible for spectators to track a projectile from the time it left the mortar until it fell into the city. At night, the sparks given off by the fuses made this an especially interesting spectacle.

Tuesday 2nd.

Today we are up in the rifle pits. My shoulder is very much bruised, where my gun kicks me. Very hot up here in the rifle pits. At six o'clock, the Artillery commences to fire and continues for ten minutes, then ceases for ten minutes, then they open up for twenty minutes again. We [the infantry] fire pretty fast to keep the rebels down, so the Battery men can work the cannons. One man in the Battery was killed by a rebel sharpshooter. We are relieved from guard at night.

Wednesday 3rd.

Today on detail to police up some ground to put up some tents for some of the officers. Our knapsacks come over from Young's Point, and some of the sick boys. Some firing all day, and in the night some [more] firing.

Thursday 4th.

Today cloudy, considerable firing going on; the rebels they reply some. One shell comes down and bursts right over our heads, one piece flying into the wash tub where our nigger was washing our clothes and cutting a hole in my shirt, and scaring the nigger till he almost turned white. Small [Minié] balls come singing over pretty often.

In the evening, five companies from our regiment (ours included) and some from other regiments, go armed and equipped out in front of the 9th to dig a trench across the hollow and cover it with brush, so the 9th [Iowa] can go along in the day time. As it was they had some men up on the side of the hill under the rebels Fort in trenches, and they could only go back and forth in the night. We dug a ditch and covered [it] with rails and brush.¹⁵ Our Batteries kept throwing shells over us all night. About Midnight, the Moon came up and it gets quite light. We quit work at three and come to camp.

Friday 5th.

This morning feel pretty dull. Slept but little. I took a stroll over to the

¹⁵ Brinkerhoff and his comrades were working on Thayer's Approach. This approach, which was directed against the 26th Louisiana Redoubt, was pushed across Mint Spring Bayou and up Abbott's Valley. Work on Thayer's Approach had been started on the night of May 30. The sap was six feet deep and six feet wide. For protection against the fire of the Rebel sharpshooters posted in the 26th Louisiana Redoubt, the Federals were forced to cover the exposed portions of the approach with fascines. Captain Herman Klostermann was in charge of the work on Thayer's Approach. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 171-172.

sutler's store. The weather very warm. Rebels throwing shells over us. Sleep well at night.

Saturday 6th.

Today very warm. Stay around the works and camp. Shoot some. At night on detail again to work on the ditch. We have to carry some more rails and brush to finish covering the trench. Work until two o'clock and then go to camp.¹⁶

Sunday 7th.

Today very warm, considerable firing along the line in the Morning and during the day. Sleep some in the day. In the evening detailed to go on guard in front of the works after dark. The boys jawing each other as usual and the Mortar Shells coursing their way through the air. Sometimes two up in the air at a time, and when they explode it sounds like the discharge of a cannon.

Monday 8th

This morning awoke about daylight got up and got into the works and went looking for Rebs. When I could get a glimpse of one I would shoot at him, fired fifteen rounds and went to breakfast. The day very warm. Went back to the works and fired fifty more rounds. Considerable more cannonading during the day. We are releaved at night and by some other company.

Tuesday 9th

Today Jesse Thompson and I took a tramp to the sutler store, the day very warm.¹⁷ Some firing all day. In the evening our Company detailed for Picket guard again. We stand down in the hollow close to the rebel pickets—¹⁸ We lay down in the grass and keep a close watch for the rebels till Morning.

Wednesday 10th.

This morning left the hollow as it began to get daylight, and went to camp. In the fore noon it rained a pretty hard shower, blowed down our shed. We have no tents, we put up another. Rained hard in the afternoon and at night.

Thursday 11th.

Today I went back over the hill to see F. A. Westover who is driving our

¹⁶ On the night of the 6th, Brinkerhoff had again worked on Thayer's Approach.

¹⁷ Josiah Thompson was a resident of Afton. Thompson had enlisted in the 4th Iowa on July 25, 1861. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 660.

¹⁸ The Union picket line was posted near Mint Spring Bayou.

regimental Ambulance. I stop with him for dinner. We have dress parade in the evening. Strict Orders.

Friday 12

This forenoon I went up in the rifle pits, and every time I would see a rebel would shoot at him. Fired about thirty rounds, and . . . [returned] to camp. I took a sleep in the afternoon. In the evening detailed to go on picket guard. Our Company stands down in Abbott's Valley.¹⁹ I stand on the right of the regiment in advance of the works, behind some weeds, the rebel pickets very close. Can hear them walking through the grass, but we have made a bargain not to fire on each other after night. As it does no good.

Saturday 13

A little before day light we fell back to the works. I go up on the hill and sharp shoot till noon, out of one of the embrasures of the fort of the 1st Iowa [Battery].²⁰ I shot about sixty rounds, until my shoulder is beat very sore. Then I go down to camp, and take a nap in the afternoon.

Sunday 14

Today I stay in camp. Write some letters, there is but little firing going on today.

Monday 15

This forenoon, I go up on the hill and sharpshoot again, stay up on the hill till I get tired. Sometimes the Johnnies shoot pretty close. We have to take good care of our heads. Looks some like rain. In the evening our Company detailed to go on picket guard. We stand down in the hollow.²¹ The boys on the works talking over us till late.

Tuesday 16

This Morning detailed to stay up on the hill and sharpshoot until noon. We got some pretty fair shots. Dont know as we hit any one body. We drew some rations. A detail sent over to Young's Point for our things. We sign the pay roll.

¹⁹ Abbott's Valley, a hollow which headed in front of the 26th Louisiana Redan, had been named in honor of Colonel Charles H. Abbott of the 30th Iowa. Colonel Abbott had been killed as he led his regiment in a charge up this ravine on the afternoon of May 22. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 394; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 165.

²⁰ The six guns of the 1st Iowa Battery were emplaced behind an earthen parapet on Bell Smith Ridge.

²¹ Company H. was stationed near Mint Spring Bayou.

In the evening detailed to go on Picket guard again. We stand to the left of Abbott's Valley near the foot of the hill.²² Considerable cannonading during the night. And the Mortars still keep bombarding day and night.

Wednesday 17

This morning withdraw at daybreak back to camp. I go up a while in the fore noon and sharp shoot, till I get tired. Our company uses up about one thousand rounds of cartridges a day. The Mortars are directing their fire at the Water Battery today, lay in camp in the afternoon.²³

Thursday 18

This morning cloudy and misty. I went up on the hill in the forenoon to sharpshoot, and in the afternoon went down the ridge to the river passed the 4th Ohio Battery. Stopped at the Marine [Naval] battery.²⁴ Some sixty pounders taken from one of the gun boats. Then go on past the "Flying Dutchman" on down to the river, rebels throwing over a few shells.²⁵ We then wind our way back to camp. Some of our boys on detail building a fort.²⁶ Two of them gets wounded by one ball. One of our Company, Philip D. Thomas, wounded Severely.²⁷ In the evening go up on the works to hear the rebs talk. During the night considerable picket firing, but not on our front.

Friday 19

Today went down to the sutler store over the hills. Part of our camp equipment come over from Youngs Point. At night our Company go[es] on guard again down in Abbott's Valley. Considerable talking across the hollow.

²² Brinkerhoff and his comrades spent the night a short distance east of Thayer's Approach.

²³ The Water Battery, a strong work mounting four big guns, was located on the left bank of Mint Spring Bayou. This battery, which was about 60 feet above the Mississippi River, commanded the horseshoe bend.

²⁴ Four guns manned by the 4th Battery, Ohio Light Artillery were emplaced in a small redoubt, about 400 yards west of Bell Smith Ridge. A detachment of sailors commanded by Lieutenant Commander Thomas O. Selfridge had mounted two 8-inch columbiads on the ridge west of the Ohioans' guns. This position, known as Battery Selfridge, was located where the imposing Naval Monument now stands. *Inscription on Tablet at the Naval Monument, Vicksburg, Mississippi.*

²⁵ Captain Clemens Landgraeber of Battery F, 2d Missouri Light Artillery was known as the "Flying Dutchman."

²⁶ A line of rifle pits was being thrown up on Bell Smith Ridge.

²⁷ Philip D. Thomas of Quincy had enlisted in the 4th Iowa as a corporal on December 12, 1861. Thomas was shot in the thigh. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 660.

When they bid each other good night and retire. While we set down in the hollow and watch all night for the rebels.

Saturday 20

This evening firing commences at four oclock. We fall back into the works. All of our Batteries open out and continue to fire until ten o'clock.²⁸ The rebels fire some, but soon become about silent with their artillery. Our shells[,] some burst on the works making the dirt fly. Some . . . [fall in the] town, some cuts off the limbs of the trees. We fire from the works sometimes by volleys. At ten oclock we let them rest. We then go to camp hungry, having had no breakfast, and the day very hot. We draw five days rations.

Sunday 21

This morning cool and cloudy. In the afternoon the Pay Master come in camp and paid us off two months pay. I got Twenty-six dollars[.] At night our Company goes on Picket guard down in the Valley again.²⁹ The rebels throwing shell over in to our line to the right of us all night. Our Mortars still busy throwing shells day & night.

Monday 22

This morning fall back into the works at daybreak. Go up on the hill and sharp shoot. About all day[,] considerable firing away off to our left in some other corps. We are releaved from the hill at night. I get a letter from N. Y.

Tuesday 23rd

This forenoon I went down to the Division Hospital to see F. A. Westover. Come back by noon, wrote a letter home and sent twenty-five dollars. In the evening quite a wind storm come up. Mixed with a few cannon balls, one exploded right over our heads. Also it rained a little.

Wednesday 24th

To day quite Windy, quite a number of cannon balls come over our camp and go into the ground. The boys dig some of them up. They are

²⁸ In accordance with orders from General Grant, all the artillery pieces which the Union cannoneers had mounted on the investment lines opened fire at 4 a. m. This fierce bombardment of the Confederate defenses continued until 11 a. m. When Rear Admiral David D. Porter learned of Grant's plans, he decided that the navy should co-operate. At the designated hour, the bluejackets also opened fire. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 83-85.

²⁹ Company H spent the night on picket duty in the Mint Spring Bayou bottom.

long balls shot from a Thirty Pound[er] Parrott gun.³⁰ Detailed to go on picket guard again. Moon shone part of the night very bright. I lay out on the post with the sentinels all night. Mortars firing all night.

Thursday 25

This Morning withdrew at daylight and I went on the hill to sharpshoot until breakfast. In the afternoon, all the troops ordered into the Works. At three o'clock the Match is applied to the Mine under Fort Hill [the 3d Louisiana Redan]. And the fort is blown up.³¹ This is about three miles to our left. All of our Batteries open . . . at the same time, also the infantry takes quite an active part.

It is so awful hot in the works we have to fix up some shade. Some are overcome by the intense heat. The firing on our part of the line lasted about one hour. To the left in the direction of the Fort, the firing was pretty heavy for about two hours. As soon as the Mine was sprung our men charged the Fort and took possession of a part of it with heavy loss, but were unable to hold the Fort long. Our loss was pretty heavy.³²

Friday 26.

To day feel quite unwell, on account of being in those hot rifle pits yesterday. I went up on the hill back of camp and laid in the shade. Got a letter from home, wrote an answer and send ten dollars home. Occasionally a minnie [Minie] ball comes singing through the trees.

Saturday 27th

Today staid in camp all day. Wrote a letter home to William Conklin. At night our Company on picket guard again. We stand over next to the 9th Iowa, the moon shines very bright. I stand guard behind a big stump. Considerable firing all night about one and a half miles to our left around a big Fort.³³ The Minnie balls aimed too high came over where we are and drop around pretty thick.

³⁰ The projectiles fired by the 30-pounder Parrott rifles were elongated.

³¹ On the afternoon of the 25th, the Union engineers detonated a mine under the 3d Louisiana Redan (Fort Hill, as it was called by the Federals). Following the explosion of the mine, the Federals moved forward and occupied the crater. Andrew Hickenlooper, "The Vicksburg Mine," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, III, 539-542.

³² When it became apparent to Grant that his troops would not be able to score a breakthrough, he authorized Major General James B. McPherson to withdraw his men from the crater. It was about noon on the 26th when the Federals abandoned the fight for the 3d Louisiana Redan. Union losses in the struggle for the crater were 34 killed and 209 wounded. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 202, 294, 312-313, 373.

³³ The strong point referred to is probably Stockade Redan.

Sunday 28

This morning we withdraw a little before day light. I take a little nap up on the hill before it got light enough to shoot. When it got light enough, we made some of them [the Confederates] dodge when they become a little exposed getting breakfast as some cooked in the rifle pits. At breakfast time I went down to camp. Staid in camp all day. Went to church.

Monday 29

Today staid in camp all day. But little firing going on along the lines, As it is a very hot day. In the evening we go on picket guard again. Our company stands down in the bottom again Moon shines very bright. We stand in plain view of the Rebels.

Tuesday 30

This morning left the bottoms at day and go to camp, and sleep until David our Negro cook gets me some breakfast ready.

A Battery opens up in our front and threw a few shells over, but our Batteries soon silence them. At nine o'clock, we march up on the hill back of camp and muster for two months pay. . . . In the afternoon, Lieut. J. F. Bishop, Ayres A. Jenks, Flemming A. Westover, Josiah Thompson, William S. Rogers, John A. Smith, William H. Bartlett, D. D. Lindsley, Levi Dodson, Alpheus Walkup, & A. M. Brinkerhoff went up on the hill and got our pictures taken in a group standing skirmishing.³⁴ Some loading some firing in all positions. We had three taken. One we sent to the P. M. at Afton, Iowa. Toward evening firing ceases on the right on account of a flag of truce. Rebs begin to raise up in our front, but a few shells soon disperses them.

Wednesday July 1st

To day very warm, So hot that there is but little firing going on. In the

³⁴ Joshua F. Bishop had enlisted in the 4th Iowa as a sergeant on July 13, 1861. He had been promoted to 2d lieutenant on July 2, 1862. Ayers A. Jenks had enlisted in the 4th Iowa on July 25, 1861. In February, 1862, Jenks was advanced to the rank of 1st sergeant. One year later, Jenks was broken to the rank of private. William H. Bartlett, William S. Rogers, John A. Smith, and Josiah Thompson had all enlisted in Company H, 4th Iowa, on July 25, 1861. Bartlett had been wounded at Pea Ridge and Chickasaw Bayou. Levi Dodson had enlisted on July 13, 1861, while Daniel D. Lindsley had joined the regiment on October 13, 1861. Alpheus Walkup had enlisted in Company H on July 25, 1861. Like Bartlett, Walkup had been wounded at Pea Ridge and Chickasaw Bayou. Walkup had been made a corporal on January 1, 1863. All of these men, except Dodson, were from Afton; Dodson hailed from Union County. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, I, 553, 574, 601, 611, 641, 653, 660, 669.

fore noon, I get my hair cut, we sent our pictures off by mail. In the afternoon blowed up the Fort [the 3d Louisiana Redan] again. Blowed three rebels and one darkey up in the air, the nigger falling on our side of the works, declares he had been "tree miles up in the air." Considerable firing in that direction until late.³⁵

Thursday 2nd.

This morning considerable firing from a Battery to our right. After breakfast I go up on the hill to shoot some. As it is not very hot, our game stirs about more and we have some pretty fair shots. In the evening our Company is detailed to work on the breast works up on the hill. We work until one o'clock then go to camp.

Friday 3

To day Ayres A. Jenks, W. H. Bartlett and I get permission to go along the line where we please. We start to the left. By the time we get to Fort Hill [the 3d Louisiana Redan], Pemberton sent out a flag of truce desiring an interview with Gen. Grant, which was granted by Grant himself taking along a small demijohn.³⁶

We now could walk along the line without fear. At Ft. Hill our men had dug until their skirmishers' [rifle] pits was at the foot of the Fort. At a number of places our men were within sixty . . . [to] one hundred feet of the rebel line. In some places Batteries were very close to each other. We passed a good many seige guns mounted [also] several strong lines of works.

The two front lines are covered with men busily engaged talking with each other, one line of grey coats, one of blue, as far as you can see to the left it's all the same. Some are picking berries between the lines. All Seem to be glad to get out from behind the works. Mortar shells still bursting in Some places close to the works.³⁷ We cross the R. R. take dinner with

³⁵ At 3 p. m., the Union engineers had detonated a second mine under the 3d Louisiana Redan. At this time, eight Negroes and one Confederate sapper were working on a countermine. All these men, with the exception of the Negro, who was blown into the Union lines, were killed by the explosion of the Union mine. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 173, 377; Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, Vol. I (New York, 1885), 461.

³⁶ Shortly after 3 p. m., Generals Grant and Pemberton, accompanied by several officers, met under the shade of a stunted oak. At this meeting, the two generals hoped to work out agreeable terms for the surrender of Vicksburg. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, I, 466-467; John C. Pemberton, "Terms of Surrender," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, III, 544; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. I, 284.

³⁷ It was 6 p. m. before the news of the cease fire reached the sailors manning the

some of the 47th Indiana five miles from our camp.³⁸ After a short visit we return to camp. Arriving at dark tired. We received orders not to fire any more until further orders.³⁹ They [the Confederates] have till ten o'clock on the 4th to put up their white flag, if not up then we commence to celebrate the 4th of July.

Saturday 4th

This Morning as soon as I get my breakfast, I go up on the hill without my gun. At about ten minutes before ten o'clock a white flag is raised at every Fort. The different regiments form in line, march out of the works, Stack their arms & colors, hang up their cartridge boxes and march back inside of the works. Shake their blankets and march down in the hollow near Vicksburg.

The Stars & Stripes were then taken forward and raised on some of the Forts. Some troops marched in on our left.⁴⁰

As soon as we found our command was not going to march in, we went over on our own hook. Their works were not as good as I expected to see. They had plenty of cannon Ammunition left, quite a number of their cannons were disabled, lots of Small Arms spoiled. All the trees and houses near the works were shot full of holes. The rebels were running about as they pleased, they were quite friendly. At a given signal the fleet which lay at Anchor up the river came down in splendid order, with Flags flying and firing Salutes. It was very warm. I did not stay in Vicksburg long. Went back to Camp drew some rations. At night our Company went on Picket guard. We were out about two hours when we were called in to be ready to march at twelve o'clock, to the rear after Old Johnston. Started at twelve, marched back up on the hill, laid down on the grass and slept till morning.⁴¹

XIII-inch mortars. Up to that time, the mortars continued to send their 200-pound projectiles crashing into the city. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. 25, pp. 79, 102, 278.

³⁸ The 47th Indiana belonged to Brigadier General Alvin P. Hovey's division. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 151.

³⁹ A cease fire had been ordered by General Grant while negotiations were in progress. In case there was no agreement, hostilities were to be resumed at 5 a. m. on the 4th. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, pt. III, 467.

⁴⁰ Major General John A. Logan's division, spearheaded by the 45th Illinois, led the Union march into Vicksburg by way of the Jackson road. The 4th Minnesota led the Union column which entered the city via the Baldwin's Ferry road. *Ibid.*, 476.

⁴¹ On June 22, Grant had placed General Sherman in command of a strong force. Sherman was charged with the mission of holding off the army which General Joseph

Sunday 5

We marched along slowly till two o'clock then stopped a while. Very warm. I go out and pick some blackberries, then lay down and sleep till five o'clock. We were then ordered on and marched and fooled along till eleven o'clock at night, and then camp in a field.⁴² At Daylight, Monday the 6th, We move in the timber, kill some Beef, lay around camp until four o'clock in the evening. [We] then march to [Big] Black River, get in camp after night.

E. Johnston had organized to relieve Vicksburg. Johnston, however, moved too late. As soon as Vicksburg fell, Grant ordered Sherman to march against Johnston. When Sherman had been given this independent command, Steele had assumed command of the XV Corps. Now that the Federals were ready to march against Johnston, the XV Corps was ordered to Sherman's support.

⁴² The 4th Iowa spent the night of the 5th camped in the fields west of Messenger's Ford.

IOWA AT VICKSBURG

Iowa had two batteries, two cavalry regiments and 29 infantry regiments engaged in the campaign and siege of Vicksburg which culminated in the surrender of Pemberton's army on July 4, 1863. These units were:

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Commander</i>
Artillery:	
1st Battery, Iowa Light Artillery	Captain Henry H. Griffiths
2d Battery, Iowa Light Artillery	Lieutenant Joseph R. Reed
Cavalry:	
3d Iowa Cavalry Regiment	Major Oliver H. P. Scott
4th Iowa Cavalry Regiment	Lieutenant Colonel Simson D. Swan
Infantry:	
3d Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Aaron Brown
4th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel James A. Williamson Lieutenant Colonel George Burton
5th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Ezekiel S. Sampson Colonel Jabez Banbury
6th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel John M. Corse
8th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel James L. Geddes
9th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel David Carskadden Major Don A. Carpenter Captain Frederick S. Washburn
10th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel William E. Small
11th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel William Hall Lieutenant Colonel John C. Abercrombie
12th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Joseph J. Woods Lieutenant Colonel Samuel R. Edgington
13th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel John Shane
15th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Hugh T. Reid Colonel William W. Belknap
16th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Lieutenant Colonel Addison H. Sanders Major William Purcell

17th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel David B. Hillis Lieutenant Colonel Clark R. Weaver Major John F. Walden
19th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Kent
20th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel William McE. Dye
21st Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Samuel Merrill Major Salue G. Van Anda Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius W. Dunlap (k)
22d Iowa Infantry Regiment	Lieutenant Colonel Harvey Graham (c) Colonel William M. Stone (w) Major Joseph A. Atherton Captain Charles M. Lee
23d Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel William H. Kinsman (k) Colonel Samuel L. Glasgow
24th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Eber C. Byam Lieutenant Colonel John Q. Wilds
25th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel George A. Stone
26th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Milo Smith
28th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel John Connell
30th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Charles H. Abbott (k) Colonel William M. G. Torrence
31st Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel William Smyth Major Theodore Stimming
34th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel George W. Clark
35th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel Sylvester G. Hill
38th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel D. Henry Hughes
40th Iowa Infantry Regiment	Colonel John A. Garrett

Only two states had more troops engaged in the Vicksburg operations than Iowa.

CALENDAR OF ACTIONS IN WHICH IOWA
TROOPS PARTICIPATED DURING THE
VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN
MARCH 29 - JULY 4, 1863

- March 31-April 30 — Grant's march from Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, to Disharoon's plantation, Louisiana. (5th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th and 28th Iowa Infantry Regiments.)
- April 2-24 — General Frederick Steele's Greenville Expedition. (1st Battery, Iowa Light Artillery; 4th, 9th, 26th and 31st Iowa Infantry Regiments.)
- April 5-7 — Patrol by the 2d Iowa Cavalry from La Grange, Tennessee, to Early Grove and Mount Pleasant, Mississippi.
- April 14-May 3 — General Grenville Dodge's Expedition from Corinth, Mississippi, to Courtland, Alabama. (2d and 39th Iowa Infantry.)
- April 17-May 2 — Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson's raid from La Grange, Tennessee, to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- April 21-26 — Colonel Edward Hatch's raid on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- April 21 — Skirmish at Palo Alto, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- April 24 — Skirmish at Birmingham, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- April 29-May 5 — Colonel Hatch's raid from La Grange, Tennessee, to New Albany, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 1 — BATTLE OF PORT GIBSON, MISSISSIPPI. (1st Battery, Iowa Light Artillery; 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th and 28th Iowa Infantry.)
- May 2 — Skirmish near the railroad bridge across Bayou Pierre. (5th and 10th Iowa Infantry.)
- May 12 — BATTLE OF RAYMOND, MISSISSIPPI. (5th, 10th and 17th Iowa Infantry.)
- May 12 — Skirmish on Fourteen Mile Creek, near Dillon's plantation. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 13 — Skirmish near Raymond, Mississippi. (5th and 10th Iowa Infantry.)
- Skirmish at Baldwin's Ferry, Mississippi. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- Skirmish at Mississippi Springs, Mississippi. (2d Battery, Iowa Light Artillery and 4th Iowa Cavalry.)

- May 14 — BATTLE OF JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. (1st and 2d Batteries, Iowa Light Artillery; 4th Iowa Cavalry; 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 17th, 26th, 33d, and 35th Iowa Infantry.)
- May 14 — Skirmish at Walnut Hill, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 15 — Skirmish at Pigeon Roost Creek, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 15 — Skirmish at Tuscahoma, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 16 — BATTLE OF CHAMPION HILL, MISSISSIPPI. (5th, 10th, 17th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th and 28th Iowa Infantry Regiments.)
- May 17 — BATTLE OF THE BIG BLACK, MISSISSIPPI. (21st, 22d and 23d Iowa Infantry Regiments.)
- May 18 — Skirmish near Island No. 82, Mississippi River. (3d Iowa Infantry.)
- May 18 — Occupation of the defenses of Snyder's Bluff, Mississippi. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 19 — FIRST ASSAULT ON "FORTRESS" VICKSBURG. (1st and 2d Batteries, Iowa Light Artillery; 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 21st, 22d, 25th, 26th, 30th, 31st and 35th Iowa Infantry Regiments.)
- May 21-26 — Colonel Hatch's raid from La Grange, Tennessee, to Senatobia, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 23 — Skirmish at Senatobia. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 22 — SECOND ASSAULT ON "FORTRESS" VICKSBURG. 1st and 2d Batteries, Iowa Light Artillery; 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 21st, 22d, 25th, 26th, 30th, 31st and 35th Iowa Infantry Regiments.)
- May 23-25 — Colonel Amory K. Johnson's raid up the "Mechanicsburg Corridor." (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- Skirmish at Mechanicsburg, Mississippi. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- May 25-July 4 — SIEGE OF VICKSBURG. (1st and 2d Batteries, Iowa Light Artillery; 3d and 4th Iowa Cavalry Regiments; 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 28th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 35th, 38th and 40th Iowa Infantry Regiments.)
- May 25 — Skirmish near Island No. 65, Mississippi River. (36th Iowa Infantry.)
- May 26-June 4 — General Frank Blair's expedition from Snyder's Bluff to Mechanicsburg, Mississippi. (2d Battery, Iowa Light Artillery; 4th Iowa Cavalry, 8th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th and 35th Iowa Infantry.)
- May 29 — Skirmish near Mechanicsburg. (4th Iowa Cavalry, 11th, 13th, 15th and 16th Iowa Infantry.)

- June 2-8 — General Nathan Kimball's expedition from Snyder's Bluff to Mechanicsburg. (4th Iowa Cavalry, 40th Iowa Infantry.)
June 4 — Engagement at Mechanicsburg. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- June 6-10 — Colonel Hatch's reconnaissance from La Grange, Tennessee, to Holly Springs and toward New Albany, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- June 7 — BATTLE AT MILLIKEN'S BEND, LOUISIANA. (23d Iowa Infantry.)
- June 16-24 — Colonel John K. Mizner's raid from La Grange, Tennessee, to Panola, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
June 16-17 — Skirmishes near Holly Springs, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
June 18 — Skirmish at Coldwater Bridge, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
June 20 — Skirmish near Matthew's Ferry, Mississippi. (2d Iowa Cavalry.)
- June 18 — Skirmishes at Birdsong's Ferry and at Brownsville, Mississippi. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- June 22 — Engagement at Hill's plantation, Mississippi. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- June 26 — Skirmish at Messinger's Ford, Mississippi. (4th Iowa Cavalry.)
- June 28 — Skirmish at Jones' Ford, Mississippi. (16th Iowa Infantry.)
- July 3 — Skirmish at Messinger's Ford, Mississippi. (15th Iowa Infantry.)

IOWA SOLDIERS INTERRED IN THE VICKSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co.</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Number of Grave</i>	<i>Original Place of Interment</i>
Abbey, William H.	Private	E	38th Infantry	July 8, 1863	G	859	Vicksburg, Miss.
Ackerman, John A.	Private	H	9th Infantry	July 6, 1863	G	1249	Vicksburg, Miss.
Alexander, John L.	Corporal	-	1st Battery	May 22, 1863	H	99	Madison Parish, La.
Alexander, Thomas	Private	A	3d Infantry	June 6, 1863	G	891	Vicksburg, Miss.
Annis, Francis	Private	D	32d Infantry	May 30, 1864	L	555	Vicksburg, Miss.
Arain, M. L.	—	G	25th Infantry	July 27, 1863	B	25	Madison Parish, La.
Ar—en, —	—	F	23d Infantry	July 28, 1863	B	26	Madison Parish, La.
Atwood, William C.	Private	K	4th Cavalry	June 3, 1863	O	79	Haynes Bluff, Miss.
Ayars, Jonathan D.	Private	I	3d Infantry	April 14, 1864	I	424	Vicksburg, Miss.
Baine, Enoch F.	Musician	I	25th Infantry	Sept. 8, 1863	F	178	Bovina, Miss.
Baldwin, James	Private	C	32d Infantry	June 4, 1864	L	57	Vicksburg, Miss.
Bantle, John	Private	C	30th Infantry	Sept. 25, 1863	E	392	Lake Providence, La.
Barnum, Washington	Private	G	13th Infantry	Sept. 8, 1863	G	174	Vicksburg, Miss.
Barrows, Samuel	Private	-	4th Cavalry	Jan. —, —	O	409	Wisby Church, Miss.
Bauer, Jacob	Private	C	35th Infantry	Nov. 11, 1863	L	20	Vicksburg, Miss.
Baughn, Charles	Private	F	30th Infantry	April 18, 1863	A	70	Madison Parish, La.
Beach, Jerome	Private	A	25th Infantry	April 21, 1863	E	115	Madison Parish, La.
Beason, Henry H.	Private	B	23d Infantry	June 10, 1863	H	42	Madison Parish, La.
Bede, Richard	Private	K	8th Infantry	Aug. 25, 1863	F	630	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Beighler, Enoch	Private	B	23d Infantry	July 23, 1863	G	739	Vicksburg, Miss.
Bell, William	Private	B	30th Infantry	Sept. 2, 1863	Q	546	Bovina, Miss.
Belt, Henry E.	Private	G	17th Infantry	June 6, 1863	E	360	Madison Parish, La.
Bendikson, Benedict	Corporal	D	38th Infantry	June 16, 1863	G	931	Vicksburg, Miss.
Bennett, Edson C.	Private	K	35th Infantry	Oct. 20, 1863	I	670	Vicksburg, Miss.
Bickell, Henry C.	Private	F	15th Infantry	Jan. 5, 1864	I	584	Vicksburg, Miss.
Bill, Daniel H.	Private	E	5th Infantry	Sept. 15, 1863	I	365	Vicksburg, Miss.
Billman, Henry A.	Private	K	23d Infantry	June 10, 1863	E	381	Madison Parish, La.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co.</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Number of Grave</i>	<i>Original Place of Interment</i>
Bonham, Benjamin W.	Private	F	35th Infantry	Sept. 2, 1863	F	656	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Bonner, Benjamin F.	Private	G	25th Infantry	March 27, 1863	C	311	Young's Point, La.
Bools, William	—	H	28th Cavalry	April 24, 1863	A	15	Madison Parish, La.
Boon, Benjamin F.	Corporal	K	31st Infantry	Feb. 13, 1863	D	175	Young's Point, La.
Bower, John H.	Private	C	9th Infantry	Aug. 26, 1863	I	997	Bovina, Miss.
Bowman, Benjamin	Private	E	30th Infantry	May 13, 1863	E	208	Madison Parish, La.
Boyd, William	Private	-	1st Battery	Jan. 3, 1863	F	4	Milliken's Bend, La.
Boyer, Jacob	Private	G	23d Infantry	July 19, 1863	B	56	Madison Parish, La.
Briggs, Enoch	Sergeant	I	11th Infantry	Sept. 24, 1863	I	362	Vicksburg, Miss.
Briot, A.	Private	G	9th —	—, —	A	246	Young's Point, La.
Brophy, Mathew	Private	E	20th Infantry	July 8, 1863	G	863	Vicksburg, Miss.
Brown, Abraham	Private	E	11th Infantry	Jan. 2, 1864	I	523	Vicksburg, Miss.
Brown, Pierson	Private	A	23d Infantry	Oct. 16, 1863	I	598	Vicksburg, Miss.
Buchanan, John	2d Lt.	H	28th Infantry	June 7, 1863	O	62	Champion Hill, Miss.
Buner, Thomas P.	Private	D	26th Infantry	Feb. 26, 1863	D	144	Young's Station, La.
Burke, Hamilton	Private	B	30th Infantry	July 14, 1863	G	1264	Vicksburg, Miss.
Burke, William	1st Sgt.	E	11th —	—, —	G	972	Vicksburg, Miss.
Burkhart, William	Private	A	23d —	July 18, 1863	B	53	Madison Parish, La.
Burris, Silas D.	Private	-	2d Battery	June 19, 1863	P	72	Vicksburg, Miss.
Campbell, Charles P.	Private	H	4th Cavalry	March 20, 1864	I	539	Vicksburg, Miss.
Carlin, Joseph L.	Private	K	5th Infantry	Aug. 20, 1863	Q	198	Vicksburg, Miss.
Carlton, Merriman	Corporal	I	23d Infantry	May 27, 1863	H	81	Madison Parish, La.
Carter, Lewis	Private	D	13th —	Oct. 4, 1863	I	504	Vicksburg, Miss.
Carter, Tazwell	Private	G	30th Infantry	Feb. 13, 1863	D	196	Young's Station, La.
Cassiday, William R.	Private	C	28th Infantry	May 3, 1863	E	138	Madison Parish, La.
Chambers, William G.	Private	H	32d Infantry	Feb. 20, 1864	I	577	Vicksburg, Miss.
Chown, William	Private	F	35th Infantry	Sept. 19, 1863	F	657	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Christman, John	Private	K	15th Infantry	Aug. 15, 1863	G	172	Vicksburg, Miss.

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Church, John	Private	A	30th Infantry	May 29, 1863	H	74	Madison Parish, La.
Clark, Albert	Private	B	32d Infantry	March 21, 1864	I	441	Vicksburg, Miss.
Cole, William M.	Private	B	32d Infantry	May 25, 1864	I	704	Vicksburg, Miss.
Collins, William H.	Private	A	21st Infantry	June 28, 1863	G	647	Vicksburg, Miss.
Comerford, John	Private	E	35th Infantry	Nov. 5, 1863	I	692	Vicksburg, Miss.
Comstock, William J.	Private	F	21st Infantry	May 2, 1863	O	228	Port Gibson, Miss.
Condit, Daniel M.	Private	B	23d Infantry	July 26, 1863	G	735	Vicksburg, Miss.
Connelly, Middleton	Private	E	40th Infantry	June 28, 1863	O	361	Snyder's Bluff, Miss.
Cook, Richard C.	Private	C	21st Infantry	June 10, 1863	H	7	Madison Parish, La.
Cooley, John S.	Corporal	A	26th Infantry	May 2, 1863	F	45	Milliken's Bend, La.
Cooper, George	Private	I	30th Infantry	April 18, 1863	E	107	Madison Parish, La.
Cox, Sherrill B.	Private	K	28th Infantry	June 6, 1863	E	355	Madison Parish, La.
Crandall, Zanonni G.	Private	K	24th Infantry	April 17, 1864	I	699	Vicksburg, Miss.
Crawford, Marcus	Private	C	30th Infantry	Aug. 10, 1863	Q	550	Bovina, Miss.
Crottondollar, C.	—	F	16th Infantry	July 26, 1863	B	18	Madison Parish, La.
Crum, William B.	Private	A	10th Infantry	May 22, 1863	G	127	Vicksburg, Miss.
Dailey, Lewis N.	Private	C	23d Infantry	July 23, 1864	L	281	Vicksburg, Miss.
Davidson, Daniel B.	Corporal	—	2d Battery	Nov. 23, 1863	I	520	Vicksburg, Miss.
Davidson, Isaac E.	Private	K	27th Infantry	June 2, 1864	L	558	Vicksburg, Miss.
Davis, Jacob	Private	I	28th Infantry	March 22, 1864	I	639	Vicksburg, Miss.
Davis, John	Private	D	38th Infantry	March 3, 1864	I	413	Vicksburg, Miss.
Davis, John L.	Private	K	23d Infantry	Aug. 10, 1863	B	2	Madison Parish, La.
Davis, Thomas	Private	—	1st Battery	Aug. 21, 1863	I	1022	Big Black Station, Miss.
Dennison, Charles H.	Private	E	28th Infantry	June 24, 1863	G	754	Vicksburg, Miss.
Detwiler, Christian J.	Private	B	22d Infantry	May 24, 1863	G	667	Vicksburg, Miss.
De Vault, Andrew	Corporal	H	22d Infantry	June 3, 1863	G	680	Vicksburg, Miss.
Dick, James	Private	I	21st Infantry	May 29, 1863	G	642	Vicksburg, Miss.
Diggins, Alonzo	Sergeant	B	17th Infantry	June 26, 1863	G	343	Vicksburg, Miss.

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Dinnick, Wallace A.	Private	D	35th Infantry	May 28, 1864	I	740	Vicksburg, Miss.
Dorrance, Alexander P.	Private	F	4th Infantry	May 19, 1863	G	1400	Vicksburg, Miss.
Duckett, David	Private	I	23d Infantry	July 23, 1863	B	22	Madison Parish, La.
Duckett, Isaiah	Private	I	23d Infantry	July 16, 1863	H	28	Madison Parish, La.
Dunham, Robert F.	Private	D	14th Infantry	Feb. 21, 1864	I	411	Vicksburg, Miss.
Edgar, Joseph	Private	K	25th ———	May 27, 1863	G	1214	Vicksburg, Miss.
Edmondson, Charles S.	Private	K	30th Infantry	April 9, 1863	D	215	Young's Point, La.
Eggan, Nelson S.	Private	F	9th Infantry	May 14, 1863	E	196	Madison Parish, La.
Egland, Peter	Private	K	32d Infantry	June 11, 1864	I	734	Vicksburg, Miss.
Elliott, Lander	Private	B	30th Infantry	May 19, 1863	A	129	Madison Parish, La.
Ellis, Amon	Private	E	30th Infantry	April 11, 1863	F	2	Milliken's Bend, La.
Ellis, Phineas	Corporal	E	30th Infantry	May 22, 1863	P	119	Vicksburg, Miss.
English, Samuel N.	Private	H	26th Infantry	July 11, 1863	P	126	Vicksburg, Miss.
Ernst, John	Private	C	35th Infantry	June 12, 1863	G	293	Vicksburg, Miss.
Etal, Benj.	———	G	28th Infantry	———, ———	A	115	Madison Parish, La.
Fairbanks, Lewis	Private	C	38th Infantry	July 3, 1863	G	872	Vicksburg, Miss.
Fairman, Geo.	Private	—	2d Battery	May 29, 1863	O	398	Oak Ridge, Miss.
Fawcett, Jos. A.	Sergeant	D	28th Infantry	June 19, 1863	G	854	Vicksburg, Miss.
Fetter, John A.	Musician	H	30th Infantry	Feb. 27, 1863	D	172	Young's Point, La.
Filloon, Abington J.	Private	C	10th Infantry	July 23, 1863	B	15	Madison Parish, La.
Fisher, Jno.	Private	H	35th Infantry	Oct. 6, 1863	F	648	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Fisher, Joseph C.	Corporal	A	11th Infantry	Aug. 30, 1863	G	179	Vicksburg, Miss.
Fisher, Wm. H.	Private	B	13th Infantry	Oct. 21, 1863	I	601	Vicksburg, Miss.
Fisher, Wm. H.	Private	B	13th Volunteers	———, ———	I	406	Vicksburg, Miss.
Fleager, Henry A.	Private	C	34th Infantry	Jan. 7, 1863	Q	95	Waxham Landing, Miss.
Fobes, Benj. F.	Captain	B	24th Infantry	Aug. 5, 1863	O	36	Vicksburg, Miss.
Fobes, Caleb W.	Private	A	24th Infantry	June 7, 1863	G	767	Vicksburg, Miss.
Folsom, Nelson H.	Private	B	4th Infantry	July 19, 1863	G	1287	Vicksburg, Miss.

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Foster, Henry A.	Private	K	4th Cavalry	March 21, 1863	F	438	Bovina, Miss.
Foster, Jno. W.	Private	B	35th Infantry	Nov. 16, 1863	L	961	Vicksburg, Miss.
Foster, Samuel	Private	B	15th Infantry	Feb. 1, 1864	I	525	Vicksburg, Miss.
Fowler, George	Private	E	30th Infantry	May 22, 1863	H	102	Madison Parish, La.
Fre, Samuel	—	F	30th Infantry	April 29, 1863	E	551	Madison Parish, La.
Frederick, Corvin B.	Corporal	C	23d Infantry	Aug. 16, 1863	A	143	Madison Parish, La.
Gamble, Sylvanus C.	Corporal	H	25th Infantry	Feb. 12, 1863	D	173	Young's Point, La.
Gardner, Lambert B.	Sergeant	D	23d Infantry	June 16, 1863	H	68	Madison Parish, La.
Garretson, Wm.	Private	D	21st Infantry	Aug. 12, 1863	I	801	Vicksburg, Miss
Garrison, Robert M.	Private	H	30th Infantry	May 15, 1863	H	118	Madison Parish, La.
Gillett, Charles	Private	L	4th Cavalry	June 21, 1863	F	472	Bovina, Miss.
Giltner, George	Corporal	E	22d Infantry	May 23, 1863	G	597	Vicksburg, Miss.
Glasgow, Robert M.	Private	C	19th Infantry	Jan. 29, 1865	L	359	Vicksburg, Miss.
Godrick, Charles	Private	F	25th Infantry	March 4, 1864	I	654	Vicksburg, Miss.
Gorvand, Florand	Private	E	28th Infantry	April 20, 1863	A	46	Madison Parish, La.
Gregg, Henry	1st Sgt.	H	30th Infantry	June 22, 1863	P	121	Vicksburg, Miss.
Growell, Joseph J.	Private	I	26th Infantry	July 31, 1863	R	185	Big Black Station, Miss.
Grummon, Wm.	—	—	2d Battery	Nov. 20, 1863	I	586	Vicksburg, Miss.
Haggerty, Jona	Corporal	F	6th Infantry	July 5, 1863	O	356	Snyder's Bluff, Miss.
Hall, Wm.	—	F	4th Infantry	Feb. —, —	F	455	Bovina, Miss.
Hallock, Martin	Private	E	5th Infantry	April 29, 1863	A	178	Madison Parish, La.
Hamilton, Edwin M.	Sergeant	K	24th Infantry	June 7, 1863	H	17	Madison Parish, La.
Hammer, Dennis S.	Private	D	35th Infantry	May 25, 1863	G	291	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hammock, Philip	Sergeant	D	23d Infantry	July 11, 1863	B	84	Madison Parish, La.
Hansen, Andrew	Corporal	H	9th Infantry	July 11, 1863	B	85	Madison Parish, Miss.
Hardsan, Daniel	Private	B	17th Infantry	Aug. 15, 1863	K	69	Jackson, Miss.
Harrison, Thomas J.	Private	A	23d Infantry	July 9, 1863	B	73	Madison Parish, La.
Haskell, Parsons F.	1st Sgt.	F	12th Infantry	Sept. 2, 1863	F	635	Messinger's Ford, Miss.

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Haven, C. H. W.	—	—	9th Infantry	—, —	Q	70	Mouth of White Riv., Ark.
Headding, Jno. W.	Private	C	25th Infantry	April 25, 1863	A	17	Madison Parish, La.
Hegwo—, A.	—	A	— Infantry	—, —	F	741	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Heiner, Francis M.	Private	K	21st Infantry	May 22, 1863	G	813	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hendee, Solomon	Corporal	K	23d Infantry	July 17, 1863	B	81	Madison Parish, La.
Hendricks, Jno. W.	Private	K	28th Infantry	June 5, 1863	C	23	Young's Point, La.
Hendricks, Nathan	Corporal	G	30th Infantry	Feb. 18, 1863	D	166	Young's Point, La.
Henry, Walp	Sergeant	I	31st Infantry	July 17, 1863	G	1277	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hettiger, John	Private	C	16th —	Aug. 17, 1863	G	62	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hickman, Ira W.	Private	B	11th Infantry	Sept. 29, 1863	I	471	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hicks, Jno. C.	Private	H	35th Infantry	Sept. 20, 1863	F	654	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Holbrook, Geo. A.	Private	H	30th Infantry	Feb. 4, 1863	D	168	Young's Point, La.
Holliday, Thomas B.	Corporal	A	35th Infantry	Aug. 31, 1863	F	658	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Hollingshead, Joseph	Private	H	17th Infantry	June 15, 1863	G	8	Vicksburg, Miss.
Holt, Daniel S.	Private	H	26th Infantry	May 2, 1863	F	46	Milliken's Bend, La.
Homer, Geo. W.	Private	A	20th Infantry	June 26, 1863	G	864	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hopson, Addison E.	Sergeant	K	21st Infantry	May 22, 1863	I	1007	Smith's Station, Miss.
Horber, R. F.	—	B	25th Infantry	—, —	G	617	Vicksburg, Miss.
Horton, Barney R.	Private	G	27th Infantry	May 30, 1863	L	556	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hotchkiss, George	Private	F	3d —	May 26, 1863	L	47	Vicinity Vicksburg, Miss.
Hough, Nehemiah	Private	E	32d Infantry	June 3, 1864	L	56	Vicksburg, Miss.
How, Hiram T.	Corporal	G	38th Infantry	Sept. 14, 1863	I	370	Vicksburg, Miss.
Howard, Francis R.	Private	I	23d Infantry	May 11, 1864	O	118	Grand Gulf, Miss.
Howard, Jno. B.	Private	E	24th Infantry	June 18, 1863	G	765	Vicksburg, Miss.
Howser, Daniel	Private	F	31st Infantry	May 21, 1863	G	1386	Vicksburg, Miss.
Huff, Abraham F.	Private	A	4th Cavalry	July 2, 1863	F	479	Bovina, Miss.
Hug, Charles	Private	E	30th Infantry	July 19, 1863	G	1289	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hugulet, Henry	Private	G	30th Infantry	Sept. 1, 1863	Q	548	Bovina, Miss.

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Hunnell, Francis B.	Corporal	D	6th Infantry	Aug. 6, 1863	F	748	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hunt, Charles	Private	E	27th Infantry	June 3, 1863	I	714	Vicksburg, Miss.
Hunt, Samuel B.	—	H	32d Infantry	Feb. 5, 1863	I	337	Vicksburg, Miss.
Iker—, S.	—	H	17th —	—, —	G	406	Vicksburg, Miss.
Irwin, Eli S.	Saddler	A	4th Cavalry	Sept. 4, 1863	F	480	Bovina, Miss.
Isett, Fulton	1st Sgt.	C	5th —	May 29, 1863	R	63	Champion Hill, Miss.
Jackson, Anderson	Private	G	31st Infantry	April 28, 1863	A	112	Madison Parish, La.
Jackson, Byron S.	Private	C	15th —	Nov. 5, 1863	I	912	Vicksburg, Miss.
Jackson, William	Private	C	15th —	Feb. 20, 1863	I	629	Vicksburg, Miss.
Jackson, Wm. H.	Sergeant	K	21st Infantry	July 4, 1863	E	228	De Soto, La.
Jedman, Christ	Private	C	16th Infantry	March 4, 1864	I	451	Vicksburg, Miss.
Jeffers, Thomas	Private	H	25th Infantry	June 18, 1863	G	1215	Vicksburg, Miss.
Jennings, Elijah	Private	C	11th Infantry	Aug. 31, 1863	G	184	Vicksburg, Miss.
Jensen, Andrew	Private	G	12th Infantry	Sept. 6, 1863	F	633	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Jester, Thomas B.	Private	A	35th Infantry	June 29, 1863	B	106	Madison Parish, La.
Johnson, Albert	Private	G	30th Infantry	Feb. 27, 1863	D	167	Young's Point, La.
Johnson, Calvin	Private	A	23d Infantry	May 1, 1863	O	286	Bruinsburg, Miss.
Johnson, Charles O.	Private	D	25th Infantry	April 25, 1863	A	14	Madison Parish, La.
Johnson, Silas D.	Captain	C	24th Infantry	May 16, 1863	O	76	Champion Hill, Miss.
Johnston, William	Private	I	25th Infantry	Sept. 2, 1863	F	188	Bovina, Miss.
Jones, Geo. L.	Private	B	5th —	April 22, 1863	G	539	Vicksburg, Miss.
Jones, Jacob	1st Lt.	B	9th Infantry	May 22, 1863	O	34	Vicksburg, Miss.
Kaufman, Wm.	Private	H	30th Infantry	May 5, 1863	E	173	Madison Parish, La.
Kelly, Thomas A.	Private	D	3d Infantry	July 6, 1863	G	877	Vicksburg, Miss.
Kelsy, Florilla M.	Captain	A	9th —	May 26, 1863	O	18	Vicksburg, Miss.
Kennedy, James	Private	F	11th —	Nov. 11, 1863	L	21	Vicksburg, Miss.
Kennett, James P.	1st Sgt.	K	25th Infantry	June 25, 1863	G	1375	Vicksburg, Miss.
Kephart, Conrad	Private	C	21st Infantry	Jan. 12, 1863	G	734	Vicksburg, Miss.

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Kinkaid, Robert G.	H	—	26th Infantry	Aug. 28, 1863	R	178	Big Black Station, Miss.
Kirkendall, Jos. W.	E	Private	33d Infantry	March 23, 1863	Q	354	Shell Mound, Miss.
Kohlehan, Jacob	F	Private	26th —	April 30, 1863	E	153	Madison Parish, La.
Landwehr, Viktor	B	Private	16th —	Sept. 2, 1863	I	397	Vicksburg, Miss.
Lane, Nelson M.	I	Private	24th Infantry	July 10, 1863	B	79	Madison Parish, La.
Larcer, George E.	F	Corporal	12th Infantry	June 22, 1864	Q	32	Mouth of White Riv., Ark.
Largent, Jona. L.	H	Private	22d —	June 24, 1863	B	578	Vicksburg, Miss.
Leggett, Charles	E	Private	22d Infantry	May 5, 1863	E	178	Madison Parish, La.
Leiley, J. L.	A	—	17th Infantry	Aug. —, 1863	B	45	Madison Parish, La.
Linderman, Cornelius	C	Private	31st Infantry	May 7, 1864	I	564	Vicksburg, Miss.
Loosee, Isaac R.	E	Private	9th Infantry	July 16, 1863	G	1275	Vicksburg, Miss.
Lowery, S.	C	—	31st Infantry	May 10, 1863	E	200	Madison Parish, La.
Mann, John	A	Private	4th Cavalry	June 22, 1863	F	478	Bovina, Miss.
Marine, William H. H.	G	Private	13th —	—, —, —	Q	393	Yazoo City, Miss.
Markham, Sam D.	I	Corporal	4th Infantry	April 2, 1863	C	274	Young's Point, La.
Marsh, Ambrose	H	Private	30th Infantry	Nov. 21, 1864	I	726	Vicksburg, Miss.
Martin, Henry	—	Corporal	1st Battery	Aug. 21, 1863	I	1023	Big Black Station, Miss.
Martin, Henry	I	Corporal	3d Infantry	June 23, 1863	G	933	Vicksburg, Miss.
Marton, E. E.	D	Corporal	28th Infantry	May 3, 1863	E	179	Madison Parish, La.
Marvin, William R.	H	Private	31st Infantry	March 27, 1863	A	216	Young's Point, La.
Mather, Darius C.	E	Private	27th Infantry	March 30, 1863	I	440	Vicksburg, Miss.
Mather, John H.	B	Private	21st Infantry	June 19, 1863	G	640	Vicksburg, Miss.
Mathew, J. A.	—	Private	23d Infantry	July 20, 1863	B	68	Madison Parish, La.
Maxwell, Absalom	E	Private	16th Infantry	April 2, 1864	I	563	Vicksburg, Miss.
Maynard, William F.	B	Private	12th Infantry	Sept. 6, 1863	F	632	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
McAlpin, Benjamin F.	G	Private	9th Infantry	March 7, 1863	C	12	Young's Point, La.
McCreery, James	D	Private	13th Infantry	July 10, 1863	F	784	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
McCullough, James N.	G	Private	30th Infantry	June 10, 1863	H	3	Madison Parish, La.

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McCullough, James P.	Private	C	22d Infantry	June 23, 1863	H	16	Madison Parish, La.
McCully, Sam W.	Private	E	30th Infantry	May 22, 1863	P	118	Vicksburg, Miss.
McDaniel, Philip	—	D	5th Infantry	June 9, 1863	R	91	Champion Hill, Miss.
McGowan, Charles	Private	B	24th Infantry	June 20, 1863	G	723	Vicksburg, Miss.
McIntyre, Thomas G.	Private	C	12th Infantry	Feb. 28, 1865	I	396	Vicksburg, Miss.
McKimpson, Aquilla	Wagoner	K	23d Infantry	July 23, 1863	A	135	Madison Parish, La.
Merriman, William	Private	H	31st Infantry	Sept. 25, 1863	I	486	Vicksburg, Miss.
Michael, Theo. R.	Private	I	12th Infantry	Oct. 16, 1863	I	611	Vicksburg, Miss.
Milkins, J. M.	—	H	23d Infantry	July 20, 1863	B	64	Madison Parish, La.
Miller, James	Private	G	35th Infantry	Aug. 25, 1863	F	653	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Miller, James	Private	K	12th Infantry	Feb. 27, 1865	I	626	Vicksburg, Miss.
Miller, John W.	Private	C	21st Infantry	May 22, 1863	G	807	Vicksburg, Miss.
Miller, Robert L.	1st Sgt.	I	35th Infantry	May 31, 1864	L	53	Vicksburg, Miss.
Mitchell, Aaron P.	Corporal	H	20th Infantry	July 23, 1863	J	46	Vicksburg, Miss.
Moore, George	Private	C	18th Infantry	Sept. 1, 1863	H	635	Vicksburg, Miss.
Moore, George R.	Private	B	35th Infantry	Oct. 17, 1863	I	595	Vicksburg, Miss.
Moore, Joshua G.	Private	I	4th Cavalry	Feb. 21, 1864	I	533	Vicksburg, Miss.
Morrison, Wm. H. or W.	Private	D	23d Infantry	July 10, 1863	B	80	Madison Parish, La.
Muchmore, William H.	Private	B	6th Infantry	July 28, 1863	F	745	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Mulligan, Wilkerson	Private	A	30th Infantry	June 16, 1863	P	124	Vicksburg, Miss.
Myers, Edwin	Private	K	21st Infantry	May 20, 1863	I	1004	Smith's Station, Miss.
Names, Hiram	Private	F	26th Infantry	Aug. 17, 1863	R	179	Big Black Station, Miss.
Natt, David E.	Private	F	15th —	Sept. 12, 1863	I	369	City Cemetery, Vicksburg
Nawland, Edward	Private	I	24th Infantry	April 16, 1863	A	75	Madison Parish, La.
Neal, Warren I.	Private	I	25th Infantry	Aug. 12, 1863	F	183	Bovina, Miss.
Nevil, Isaac A.	Private	E	14th Infantry	March 9, 1864	I	570	Vicksburg, Miss.
Newberry, Charles H.	Private	A	40th Infantry	July 3, 1863	O	360	Snyder's Bluff, Miss.
Newcomb, Lucius	Private	E	25th Infantry	July 7, 1863	G	1252	Vicksburg, Miss.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co.</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Number of Grave</i>	<i>Original Place of Interment</i>
Newell, N. B.	Private	C	22d Infantry	— — —, —	G	682	Vicksburg, Miss.
Nickell, Robert A.	Private	I	25th Infantry	Aug. 18, 1863	F	182	Bovina, Miss.
Noel, Mashak	Lieutenant	D	17th Infantry	June 18, 1863	R	92	Champion Hill, Miss.
Noffsinger, James	Private	I	8th Infantry	Sept. 10, 1863	O	4	Vicksburg, Miss.
Nussbaum, Benjamin F.	Private	B	23d Infantry	June 20, 1863	C	655	Vicksburg, Miss.
Obrihan, Henry H.	Private	E	38th Infantry	June 11, 1863	H	50	Madison Parish, La.
Oxenrider, Elias	Private	G	3d Infantry	July 26, 1863	Q	295	Vicksburg, Miss.
Park, Alfred	Private	D	28th Infantry	— — —, —	R	102	Champion Hill, Miss.
Parks, Charles R.	Corporal	—	1st Battery	March 8, 1863	C	10	Young's Point, La.
Parr, Loremus	Private	K	35th Infantry	June 15, 1863	B	162	Duckport, La.
Patterson, James M.	Private	A	25th Infantry	May 27, 1863	G	1371	Vicksburg, Miss.
Pelein, Alex	Private	G	25th Infantry	Sept. 22, 1863	F	177	Bovina, Miss.
Perkins, William	Corporal	B	21st Infantry	June 13, 1863	C	645	Vicksburg, Miss.
Perkins, William G.	Private	G	22d Infantry	June 23, 1863	C	594	Vicksburg, Miss.
Phipps, Willis O.	Corporal	G	35th Infantry	June 17, 1863	C	235	Vicksburg, Miss.
Pickering, George	Private	B	35th Infantry	April 28, 1863	I	425	Vicksburg, Miss.
Pickering, M.	Private	K	23d Infantry	Aug. 7, 1863	A	155	Madison Parish, La.
Piersall, Lewis A.	Private	C	9th Infantry	May 18, 1863	G	68	Vicksburg, Miss.
Potter, Gideon	Private	H	21st Infantry	March 31, 1863	F	94	Milliken's Bend, La.
Powell, George B.	Private	K	28th —	May 31, 1863	E	331	Madison Parish, La.
Prag, Sam	Private	F	23d —	Aug. 10, 1863	B	1	Madison Parish, La.
Presho, Alex	Private	H	12th Infantry	Aug. 21, 1863	F	634	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Printz, Isaac	Private	K	11th —	Oct. 1, 1863	I	517	Vicksburg, Miss.
Printz, Newton	Private	B	11th Infantry	Feb. 11, 1864	I	529	Vicksburg, Miss.
Prosser, Holden L.	Private	H	19th Infantry	Aug. 4, 1863	J	9	Vicksburg, Miss.
Pruyn, Charles T.	Private	E	4th Cavalry	Sept. 12, 1863	F	588	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Pumphery, Caleb	Private	I	4th Infantry	May 20, 1863	O	138	Grand Gulf, Miss.
Pyeatt, Christopher C.	Private	D	22d Infantry	May 2, 1863	A	91	Madison Parish, La.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co.</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Number of Grave</i>	<i>Original Place of Interment</i>
Ratliffe, John M.	Private	A	24th Infantry	May 9, 1863	E	195	Madison Parish, La.
Rathfon, Samuel	Private	F	19th Infantry	Nov. 13, 1863	I	694	Vicksburg, Miss.
Reed, Elias M.	Private	G	23d Infantry	June 18, 1863	P	128	Vicksburg, Miss.
Reed, Oliver H. P.	Private	A	30th Infantry	Sept. 22, 1863	Q	549	Bovina, Miss
Reed, William P.	Private	I	35th Infantry	Aug. 24, 1862	F	652	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Rees, George L.	Sergeant	B	15th Infantry	Feb. 7, 1863	C	20	Young's Point, La.
Reeves, John A.	Private	A	35th Infantry	Nov. 18, 1863	I	587	Vicksburg, Miss.
Remley, Lycurgus	Sergeant	F	22d Infantry	June 13, 1863	G	691	Vicksburg, Miss.
Reynolds, Hudson	Corporal	I	23d Infantry	July 31, 1863	A	139	Madison Parish, La.
Rice, James E.	1st Sgt.	H	15th Infantry	Sept. 26, 1863	I	913	Vicksburg, Miss.
Rice, William D.	Private	G	22d Infantry	Aug. 11, 1863	I	796	Vicksburg, Miss.
Richards, John A.	Private	F	38th Infantry	Aug. 3, 1863	J	7	Vicksburg, Miss.
Riephoff, Henry	Private	H	12th Infantry	May 27, 1863	G	288	Vicksburg, Miss.
Robb, Mathew A.	1st Lieut.	D	22d Infantry	May 22, 1863	O	32	Vicksburg, Miss.
Robertson, Samuel S.	Private	F	25th Infantry	April 22, 1863	E	120	Madison Parish, La.
Robinson, H.	—	D	22d Infantry	—, —	G	649	Vicksburg, Miss.
Roby, Abraham	Private	G	17th Infantry	June 2, 1863	R	54	Champion Hill, Miss.
Rogers, John R.	Sergeant	D	30th Infantry	May 24, 1863	G	88	Vicksburg, Miss.
Rosebrough, James M.	Private	E	32d Infantry	May 25, 1863	L	48	Vicksburg, Miss.
Rowe, James F.	Steward	—	31st Infantry	Feb. 13, 1863	H	596	Vicksburg, Miss.
Ruckman, John L.	Captain	B	3d Infantry	July 12, 1863	O	48	Jackson, Miss.
Rynders, James H.	Private	H	4th Cavalry	Nov. 16, 1863	I	695	Vicksburg, Miss.
Safley, Robert	Private	C	24th Infantry	April 20, 1863	A	57	Madison Parish, La.
Salterback, Andrew	—	B	11th —	—, —, 1863	I	622	Vicksburg, Miss.
Sawyer, George W.	Corporal	K	23d —	July 17, 1863	B	50	Madison Parish, La.
Schlake, Henry	Private	D	27th —	June 5, 1864	I	719	Vicksburg, Miss.
Schult, Jacob	Private	G	16th Infantry	Nov. 10, 1863	I	917	Vicksburg, Miss.
Seavey, Charles	Corporal	B	31st Infantry	June 22, 1863	G	1223	Vicksburg, Miss.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co.</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Number of Grave</i>	<i>Original Place of Interment</i>
Seiberlich, William P.	Private	C	3d Cavalry	July 26, 1863	O	385	Milsdale, Miss.
Seright, James A.	Private	H	35th Infantry	Sept. 19, 1863	F	655	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Shaffer, Russell B.	Private	C	36th Infantry	April 2, 1863	Q	377	Shell Mound, Miss.
Shalmon, John A.	Private	H	30th Infantry	Sept. 12, 1863	Q	543	Bovina, Miss.
Shedd, George E.	Corporal	I	30th Infantry	May 22, 1863	P	120	Vicksburg, Miss.
Sherman, William H.	Private	E	12th Infantry	Sept. 12, 1863	F	636	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Sherry, Henry E.	Private	A	38th Infantry	Aug. 16, 1863	I	794	Vicksburg, Miss.
Shields, William H.	Private	A	25th Infantry	July 5, 1863	G	1254	Vicksburg, Miss.
Shiffert, Reuben	1st Sgt.	G	25th Infantry	June 24, 1863	G	1241	Vicksburg, Miss.
Shiner, David L.	Private	G	40th Infantry	July 19, 1863	O	109	Snyder's Bluff, Miss.
Shirling, E.	—	—	Infantry	—, —	G	690	Vicksburg, Miss.
Shuck, David M.	Private	B	21st Infantry	April 18, 1863	A	71	Madison Parish, La.
Sigafoose, Jacob	Private	K	22d Infantry	April 5, 1863	F	92	Milliken's Bend, La.
Simmons, Jay	Private	K	31st Infantry	Feb. 28, 1863	D	174	Young's Point, La.
Simpson, George	Private	C	21st Infantry	May 22, 1863	G	808	Vicksburg, Miss.
Slocum, Martin H.	Private	B	28th Infantry	July 19, 1863	B	58	Madison Parish, La.
Smiley, George W.	Corporal	A	23d —	July 15, 1863	B	37	Madison Parish, La.
Smith, Charles W.	Private	H	12th Infantry	July 25, 1863	B	17	Madison Parish, La.
Smith, Noah L.	Private	K	4th Cavalry	Sept. 8, 1863	F	587	Messinger's Ford, Miss.
Smith, S.	—	G	4th Infantry	July 15, 1863	G	1271	Vicksburg, Miss.
Smith, Thomas N.	Private	C	12th Infantry	May 19, 1863	P	96	Vicksburg, Miss.
Spragg, Charles	Private	C	9th —	June 1, 1863	A	221	Young's Point, La.
Springer, Lewis	Private	G	17th —	July 18, 1863	D	108	Young's Point, La.
Stallman, Solomon	Private	G	30th Infantry	Feb. 16, 1863	D	171	Young's Point, La.
Steele, James P.	Private	K	25th Infantry	June 23, 1863	G	1374	Vicksburg, Miss.
Stiles, Joshua L.	Private	C	4th Infantry	Feb. 23, 1863	D	101	Young's Point, La.
Stribbling, John C.	3d Cpl.	F	40th Infantry	July 11, 1863	O	323	Snyder's Bluff, Miss.
Sturtz, Solomon	Private	G	32d Infantry	June 6, 1864	I	646	Vicksburg, Miss.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co.</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Number of Grave</i>	<i>Original Place of Interment</i>
Summers, Lewis	Private	G	30th Infantry	May 1, 1863	A	98	Madison Parish, La.
Swain, William	Private	H	4th Cavalry	Aug. 28, 1863	F	586	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Swallow, Harrison T.	Private	E	23d Infantry	July 16, 1863	B	39	Madison Parish, La.
Sweet, Menzo	Private	A	9th Cavalry	June 4, 1863	G	90	Vicksburg, Miss.
Swendensky, M.	—	—	Volunteers	—, —, —	G	742	Vicksburg, Miss.
Swinford, Richard M.	Private	B	25th Infantry	July 5, 1863	G	1247	Vicksburg, Miss.
Swoyer, John B.	Private	K	31st Infantry	May 22, 1863	P	134	Vicksburg, Miss.
Talbert, Benjamin	Private	E	15th Infantry	Oct. 25, 1863	I	678	Vicksburg, Miss.
Tannehill, Winnian	Private	I	13th Infantry	Feb. 10, 1863	E	386	Lake Providence, La.
Taylor, James M.	Private	H	24th Infantry	July 7, 1863	B	119	Madison Parish, La.
Tharp, Jefferson P.	Private	A	27th Infantry	June 6, 1864	I	647	Vicksburg, Miss.
Thayer, Chandler	Private	H	35th Infantry	Sept. 22, 1863	F	647	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Thomas, Sylvester W.	Private	F	4th Cavalry	May 2, 1864	L	5	Vicksburg, Miss.
Thompson, George	Private	A	25th Infantry	Nov. 16, 1863	I	588	Vicksburg, Miss.
Thompson, I. N.	—	A	28th Infantry	—, —, —	I	1414	Jackson, Miss.
Thompson, Robert C.	Private	C	8th Infantry	Sept. 7, 1863	F	629	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Toptine, Augustus	Private	K	31st Infantry	April 16, 1863	A	77	Madison Parish, La.
True, Wesley	Private	I	26th Infantry	Feb. 19, 1863	D	105	Young's Point, La.
Tusing, Noah	Private	I	3d Infantry	May 29, 1864	I	737	Vicksburg, Miss.
Tyler, Charles L.	Private	D	8th Infantry	March 13, 1865	L	196	Vicksburg, Miss.
Tyler, Corydon	Private	D	35th Infantry	Sept. 13, 1863	F	150	Messenger's Ford, Miss.
Unknown	—	—	24th —	May 2, 1863	A	83	Madison Parish, La.
Unknown	—	K	30th —	—, —, —	D	241	Young's Point, La.
Unknown	—	—	15th —	—, —, —	G	973	Vicksburg, Miss.
Unknown	—	—	—	—, —, —	Q	102-109	Island 82, Mississippi Riv.
Unknown	Sergeant	—	4th Infantry	—, —, —	I	1528	Baldwin's Ferry, Miss.
Unknown	Sergeant	—	4th —	—, —, —	I	1529	Baldwin's Ferry, Miss.
Uran, Jurgan	1st Sgt.	E	26th Infantry	June 27, 1863	P	125	Vicksburg, Miss.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co.</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Number of Grave</i>	<i>Original Place of Interment</i>
Vanderburgh, N.	—	I	21st —	—, —, —	G	689	Vicksburg, Miss.
Van Horn, Samuel	Private	C	11th Infantry	Jan. 4, 1863	P	461	Vicksburg, Miss.
Vanosdall, Richard	Private	A	30th Infantry	April 26, 1863	E	134	Madison Parish, La.
Vanpelt, Thomas C.	Private	H	40th Infantry	July 14, 1863	O	359	Snyder's Bluff, Miss.
Veach, Edward	Private	F	21st Infantry	May 2, 1863	A	84	Madison Parish, La.
Veon, Joshua	—	C	28th Infantry	April 28, 1863	A	3	Madison Parish, La.
Vontress, William	Private	K	16th Infantry	June 8, 1863	G	305	Vicksburg, Miss.
Vouchorn, E.	Private	—	22d —	—, —, —	G	687	Vicksburg, Miss.
W——, F.	Sergeant	B	8th Infantry	May 22, 1863	P	136	Vicksburg, Miss.
Wade, Andrew J.	Corporal	F	40th Infantry	July 11, 1863	O	324	Snyder's Bluff, Miss.
Wale, Isaac	Private	B	—	May 22, 1863	P	135	Vicksburg, Miss.
Walter, Rufus C.	Private	G	11th —	Aug. 15, 1863	G	173	Vicksburg, Miss.
Warner, Hiram	—	B	4th Cavalry	May 17, 1863	O	162	Grand Gulf, Miss.
White, Robert B.	Sergeant	A	25th Infantry	June 20, 1863	G	1373	Vicksburg, Miss.
White, Samuel J.	Private	G	28th Infantry	May 8, 1863	E	169	Madison Parish, La.
White, Samuel Q.	Private	G	22d Infantry	April 8, 1863	F	93	Milliken's Bend, La.
Whited, W. M.	Private	A	32d Infantry	April 9, 1864	I	643	Vicksburg, Miss.
Wilgus, Daniel R.	Private	G	35th Infantry	April 5, 1865	L	228	Vicksburg, Miss.
Williams, David C.	Private	D	28th Infantry	June 13, 1863	H	71	Madison Parish, La.
Wilson, Joseph R.	Private	D	15th Infantry	Dec. 22, 1863	I	465	Vicksburg, Miss.
Wilson, Samuel	Private	I	23d Infantry	July 13, 1863	B	92	Madison Parish, La.
Wilson, Thomas	Private	C	28th Infantry	Jan. 21, 1864	I	662	Vicksburg, Miss.
Wold, Lars T.	Private	G	12th Infantry	Oct. 14, 1863	I	606	Vicksburg, Miss.
Wolff, Charles	1st Sgt.	I	30th Infantry	May 22, 1863	G	67	Vicksburg, Miss.
Wright, Gifford M.	Private	I	22d Infantry	July 12, 1863	G	576	Vicksburg, Miss.
Wynn, David J.	Corporal	K	31st Infantry	May 8, 1863	E	167	Madison Parish, La.
Yutzy, John	Private	E	28th —	April 26, 1863	A	10	Madison Parish, La.
Yyke, Henry	—	B	24th —	April 28, 1863	E	51	Madison Parish, La.
Zeller, Jacob	Private	H	22d —	July 14, 1864	O	683	Jackson, Miss.

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